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**Heritage Tourism in Latin America:  
Cultural Routes and the legacy of Simón Bolívar  
in Colombia, Ecuador and Venezuela**

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**Heritage Tourism in Latin America:  
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**by**

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**Thesis**

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## **Dedication**

To Vanessa,  
For sharing this journey.

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As much as I have tried to make this project seem like an individual effort to gain knowledge on—or “master”—a given subject, it is really more a testimony of the virtues of knowing and working with many generous people.

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## **Abstract**

### **Heritage Tourism in Latin America: Cultural Routes and the legacy of Simón Bolívar in Colombia, Ecuador and Venezuela**

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The University of Texas at Austin, 2011

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Heritage tourism is one of the fastest growing sub-categories of the tourism industry, which is arguably the largest industry in the world. When communities and regions compete for a greater share of the heritage tourism market, the authenticity and integrity of a heritage can be compromised by the way it is represented. One way to represent heritage is a “cultural route,” which has recently been added to definition of “cultural heritage” in the UNESCO World Heritage Convention. The interpretation of a “cultural route,” however, continues to evolve, especially in Latin America.

In anticipation of the bicentennial celebration of independence from Spain, two cultural routes were separately inaugurated in 2009: the *Ruta del Libertador* in Ecuador and Venezuela, and the *Ruta Libertadora* in Colombia. After providing an overview of the historical, political and cultural contexts that surround these routes, this paper draws upon a website content analysis to explore how national identity, cultural heritage and

the legacy of Simón Bolívar are represented by the governments of Colombia, Ecuador and Venezuela.

These observations and analyses show that while both routes represent a shared heritage, the differences in their representations straddle the definitions of “authenticity” and “cultural heritage,” as the *Ruta Libertadora* in Colombia is a “cultural route” and the *Ruta del Libertador* in Ecuador and Venezuela is a “cultural tourism route.” However, when considered together, the *Ruta del Libertador* and *Ruta Libertadora* are a cultural route that more accurately represents a crucial moment in Latin American history: the liberation of South America from Spain, led by Simón Bolívar, “El Libertador.”

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## Introduction

### HOW THIS TOPIC CHOSE ME

In August of 2009 I took advantage of the opportunity of being in Venezuela to purchase a Spanish-edition copy of the novel *The General in His Labyrinth*, even though it was written 20 years earlier by a Colombian—Gabriel García Márquez. To be honest I was more interested in the novel’s Nobel-laureate author than the novel’s topic, which is a historical-fiction biography of the final journey of Simón Bolívar—a man who led an independence movement from Spain, liberating five nations and paving the way for the independence of much of Latin America as well. For this, Simón Bolívar would be immortalized as “*El Libertador*” (“The Liberator”).

That same day I purchased a Venezuelan newspaper where, coincidentally, I found an article in the travel section announcing the inauguration of a new tourist route between Venezuela and Ecuador called the “*Ruta del Libertador*” (“Route of the Liberator”). The article explained that the Ministry of Tourism in Ecuador and the Ministry of Tourism in Venezuela had been working collaboratively to establish the *Ruta del Libertador* in effort to revive an authentic memory of “the footsteps of The Liberator,” but only in Ecuador and Venezuela (R Carreño 2009).

Recalling that Ecuador and Venezuela do not share a common border, I was curious how the *Ruta del Libertador* would function as an international tourism route. The conspicuous gap between the Venezuelan and Ecuadorian segments of the route was occupied by their neighboring country, Colombia. Researching the origins of this new route between Ecuador and Venezuela, I found an article with very similar language, published the same month, but by the Colombian Ministry of Commerce, Industry and Tourism. This article announced the “*Ruta Libertadora*,” (“Liberator Route”), which was

established to “promote the places where the Liberator Simón Bolívar passed,” but only in Colombia (Comercio 3 2009; Ruta 2a).

## **HOW I CHOSE THIS TOPIC**

I was vaguely aware that, with the year 2010 approaching, several countries in Latin America would be celebrating the bicentennial of independence from Spain, but it would take months before I would fully appreciate how significant this bicentennial was to Colombia, Ecuador and Venezuela. These “routes”—the *Ruta del Libertador* in Ecuador and Venezuela, and the *Ruta Libertadora* in Colombia—appear to be a concerted effort on behalf of their respective governments to embrace the nationalistic fervor of the bicentennial celebrations. The more I learned about this event, however, the more curious I became about certain discrepancies in its representation.

First, the year 2010 only represented the beginning of the independence struggle led by Simón Bolívar; independence would only begin to be achieved starting in 1819, meaning 2019 will be a more accurate bicentennial of independence. Second, under the colonial rule of the Spanish, the countries that are now Colombia, Ecuador and Venezuela were part of the viceroyalty of Nueva Granada, and when this region gained independence it would be called Gran Colombia. In other words, all three countries were “liberated” as one country. Only a decade later would these countries separate and form the Colombia, Ecuador and Venezuela we know today. Therefore, these two routes were not only commemorating the same historical figure—Simón Bolívar—but appeared to be celebrating the same historical moment—the independence movement—which all three countries shared.

To investigate the topic further I traveled to many of the sites along both the *Ruta del Libertador* in Ecuador and Venezuela, and the *Ruta Libertadora* in Colombia

between May and August of 2010. Coincidentally, I was in Quito the week Ecuador's National Institute of Cultural Heritage (INPC) hosted a symposium on Cultural Routes. This week-long symposium greatly expanded my understanding of "cultural routes" as a unique type of cultural heritage (Cultura 1b). The presentations and discussions also aided my research as I investigated these two examples of cultural routes. During the same period, I also participated in an internship with the United States office of the International Council on Monuments and Sites (US/ICOMOS). This experience enabled me to meet a number of professionals and scholars in Colombia, Ecuador and Venezuela, several of whom were members of the ICOMOS Scientific Committee on Cultural Routes (ICOMOS-CIIC).

As part of my internship with US/ICOMOS, I visited Washington D.C. in late August 2010 to report on my project, which also allowed some free time for sightseeing. Having spent several years studying, traveling and living in different countries in Latin America, I felt compelled to include the offices of the Organization of American States on my list of places to visit. After having spent the previous three months visiting sites dedicated to Simón Bolívar and the liberation movement throughout Colombia, Ecuador and Venezuela, this urge to visit the Organization of American States was rewarded with yet another symbolic coincidence. As I walked the grounds, I could not help but notice that four of the most prominently placed sculptures were figures of none other than Simón Bolívar.

In the year after I purchased that copy of *The General in His Labyrinth*, I found myself following multiple clues down multiple paths, or routes, that all told the story of a man who died some 180 years ago. Considering the story of Simón Bolívar is significant to many people and many places, and his story has been told by many people in many places, this investigation does not attempt to offer a new interpretation of his life or

historical significance. Instead, this report attempts to analyze contemporary representations of Simón Bolívar through the lenses of international cultural heritage preservation and cultural heritage tourism.

## **CENTRAL ISSUES**

This investigation addresses two central issues: one, the typology of “cultural routes,” and two, how “cultural heritage” can be used to promote national identity and economic development. The concept of a “cultural route” as a type of heritage is relatively new; there is an on-going debate as to what constitutes an authentic route. Heritage as a form of national identity is a widely accepted concept, but how heritage is represented and whose heritage should be represented is continually debated, especially when political and/or economic interests are at stake. Heritage tourism has become an increasingly popular economic development tool throughout the world, and especially among developing countries. However, the increase in demand for heritage tourism destinations throughout the world has affected the way such destinations are represented. Many heritage tourism destinations come under increased pressure and scrutiny to be “authentic” representations of a given heritage, while others get away with “staged authenticity” (MacCannell 1973, MacCannell 1999, 98). In other words, some destinations exhibit a heritage that is created because they would otherwise be missing out on economic opportunity if they waited for that heritage to be discovered. This paper uses two examples of cultural heritage tourism and cultural heritage routes, the *Ruta del Libertador* in Ecuador and Venezuela, and *Ruta Libertadora* in Colombia, to represent the intersection of these two ongoing debates.

In recent decades, tourism has become one of the largest industries in the world (UNWTO 2011a). Just as with any other industry, there is competition for a share of the

market. On an international level, regions and countries compete, directly or indirectly, with one another for potential tourists. One of the fastest growing markets within the tourism industry is cultural heritage tourism; that is, more and more people are choosing destinations that provide a cultural experience, on some level. One way of experiencing cultural heritage is to visit sites or travel along a cultural route.

To clarify, the concept of heritage is divided into two sub-categories: natural and cultural. Ecuador, for example, has a few of its heritage resources listed on the UNESCO World Heritage List; among those, the Galapagos Islands represent natural heritage and the historic center of Quito represents cultural heritage. As a profession and academic field of study, historic preservation often deals with the many ways in which cultural heritage is represented, which is also divided into two sub-categories: tangible heritage (monuments like the Great Wall in China, the Pyramids of Giza in Egypt and the ruins of Machu Picchu in Perú), and intangible heritage (language, legends, myths, music or folklore) (Pernaut 2001). On an international level, the recognition of cultural routes as a form of cultural heritage is relatively recent and can be traced back to the inscription of the Route of Santiago de Compostela, Spain, inscribed on the UNESCO World Heritage List in 1993. This route, and other routes since, demonstrates how cultural routes are one of the few forms of cultural heritage that can represent either or both tangible and intangible heritage (UNESCO 1993).

### **SPECIFIC ISSUE**

The *Ruta del Libertador* in Ecuador and Venezuela, and the *Ruta Libertadora* in Colombia appear to be two cultural routes representing one heritage. However, further investigation reveals this continues to only be partially true, as the routes emerge as two distinct types of routes with two distinct perspectives on a shared heritage.

The *Ruta del Libertador* and the *Ruta Libertadora* reflect what research has shown to be an increasing trend to use cultural heritage to promote national identity and economic development (UNWTO 2011a). When countries have competing political views but share a common cultural heritage, there is a risk of that cultural heritage being distorted or even destroyed. Also, when countries compete for a market share in the international tourism industry by promoting cultural heritage, the way cultural heritage is represented can be manipulated to attract more tourists. The *Ruta del Libertador* in Ecuador and Venezuela, and the *Ruta Libertadora* in Colombia embrace a form of cultural heritage that appears to serve both political and economic purposes.

## **RESEARCH QUESTIONS AND METHODOLOGY**

This investigation addresses four principal research questions: What type of cultural heritage do the *Ruta del Libertador* and *Ruta Libertadora* represent? Is the heritage represented by the *Ruta del Libertador* and *Ruta Libertadora* being manipulated to pursue a political or economic agenda? More specifically, are there any instances where the heritage is misrepresented in the websites used to promote the *Ruta del Libertador* and *Ruta Libertadora*? And finally, what are the perceived purposes of the *Ruta del Libertador* and *Ruta Libertadora*, based on their representations through their official websites?

These questions are addressed through field observations, through collection and review of material published by tourism and heritage agencies, and through comparative and content analysis of websites. The field observations, which were recorded by documenting and photographing my many experiences and impressions while traveling through Colombia, Ecuador and Venezuela, provide a qualitative perspective. The materials gathered from sites along the routes provided the contexts and interpretations of

this heritage in the different settings among the three countries. Interviews with government officials working on the routes informed the rationale for the creation of these routes in their given contexts. The website analysis is both a quantitative and qualitative analysis and comparison of the visual and verbal content used to promote the *Ruta del Libertador* by the ministries of tourism in Ecuador in Venezuela and the *Ruta Libertadora* by the Ministry of Culture in Colombia. I discuss these methods in greater depth in later chapters. In chapter four, I review the website analysis methods. In chapter five, I discuss the findings in a broader context. I do this to underscore the distinction between the variety of methods and the different data and knowledge they provided, and to more clearly show how the different methods contributed to the analysis in each chapter.

## **CHAPTER OVERVIEW**

In Chapter One, I discuss and define key concepts such as “heritage” and “cultural routes” as they are understood in the international historic preservation community. I then analyze those concepts in the context of the emerging industry of “cultural heritage tourism” and discuss the different types of representations and interpretations that emerge through the development of “cultural heritage routes.” Chapter Two is a summary of the life of Simón Bolívar. Understanding the sequence of events in his life is essential for comparing and critiquing the variety of interpretations of Bolívar as a historical person, icon and myth, and how these different interpretations are reflected in cultural heritage planning and representations. Chapter Three describes the two case studies of this report, the *Ruta del Libertador* in Ecuador and Venezuela, and the *Ruta Libertadora* in Colombia. This chapter describes the routes’ origins, locations, meanings and contexts. Chapter Four analyzes the websites dedicated to promoting the different routes. The *Ruta*

*del Libertador* website is hosted by the Venezuelan Ministry of Tourism on behalf of both Ecuador and Venezuela. The *Ruta Libertadora* website is hosted by the Colombian Ministry of Culture. Juxtaposing these two websites allows for a comparison of the way the routes are represented rhetorically, both visually and verbally. Chapter Five discusses the themes proposed in the previous chapters, particularly the way the *Ruta del Libertador* and *Ruta Libertadora* represent the concepts of “cultural routes” in the context of contemporary politics and economic development initiatives.

## Chapter One: Cultural Heritage and Tourism Routes

The purpose of this chapter is to define “heritage” and describe the difference between a “heritage route” and a “tourist route.” In order to make that distinction, this chapter also establishes working definitions of historic preservation-related terms and concepts used throughout this discussion. These definitions—while based on their usage in academic and professional literature—are not necessarily comprehensive, as the terms and concepts vary in meaning geographically, and especially when translated from one language to another. This chapter also discusses the challenge of translating the meaning of concepts between regions and languages, especially from the Spanish-speaking world to the English-speaking world. For example, in Spanish, the word “*patrimonio*” is preferred for communicating about “heritage” instead of the more direct translation of “*herencia*.” More concrete concepts such as “route” and “trail” can also mean different things depending on the context of their usage. Even very technical terms such as “preservation” and “conservation” have different meanings, even more so when used in different languages.

International organizations have been established, in part, to address these interpretive discrepancies. For example, the International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS) is a non-governmental organization of conservation professionals that serves as the international authority “dedicated to promoting the application of theory, methodology, and scientific techniques to the conservation of the architectural and archaeological heritage” (ICOMOS 2011). ICOMOS emerged from the Venice Charter of 1964 (which itself was born out of the Athens Charter of 1931), when it was established as one of the advisory bodies to the United Nations Cultural and Scientific Organization (UNESCO). Another organization that advises UNESCO on all things related to cultural

heritage is the International Center for the Study of the Preservation and Restoration of Cultural Property (ICCROM).

Eight years after its founding, ICOMOS advisors drafted the document that became the World Heritage Convention (WHC), which was adopted by UNESCO in 1972. The WHC contains all the definitions and requirements necessary to inscribe sites on to the UNESCO World Heritage List, which is a list of natural and cultural heritage sites that are considered to have “outstanding universal value” (ICOMOS 2011). Today, the language in the World Heritage Convention is continuously challenged to provide universal meaning to different places and people. For example, in terms of documentation and interpretation on an international level, the concept of a “cultural route” is relatively new, having been added to the list of heritage typologies recognized by UNESCO in 1995 (UNESCO 1995). Considering this paper focuses on two different types of cultural routes that are used to represent a very similar heritage, it is important to explore the intended and implied meanings behind the concept of a “cultural route.” However, the difference between a “cultural route” and a “cultural tourism route” continues to be debated within the international historic preservation community. Also, because this issue is the subject of international, multi-lingual discussions, it is important to explain the discrepancies and limitations of such translations.

## **CULTURAL HERITAGE**

Heritage is a plastic term that is applied both broadly and specifically. And much like defining art or beauty, the interpretation of heritage is often in the eye of the beholder (Aplin 2002; Herbert 1989, 10). The Oxford English Dictionary tells us that heritage is a “property, and especially land, which devolves by right of inheritance” (Heritage). This definition places the etymologic origin in the idea of “inheritance”—something from the

past that somehow belongs to the present. Tangible inheritance is very easy to imagine being passed from one generation to the next, such as land or money. Intangible inheritance, however, takes a little more imagination; traditions, languages or national identity can also be considered an equally valuable form of inheritance (Hewison 1989, 15). Within this inheritance-focused definition, there is also an element of entitlement: instead of saying heritage is “something from the past that *connects* to the present,” there is a tendency to prefer saying heritage is “something from the past that *belongs* to the present.” Avoiding the classic response, ‘I don’t know how to define it, but I know it when I see it’ (Aplin 2002; Hewison 1989, 13, 7, 15; Howard 2003), this paper uses a very basic definition of heritage: something—tangible or intangible—that connects us to our past.

Understanding heritage as a type of inheritance is also an important exercise because the idea of inheritance ascribes some kind of value to the past. That value may or may not be as tangible or intangible as the original form of heritage. In the case of heritage with a tangible value, that heritage may be considered a resource that may be cultivated and commodified (Castañeda 2009, 280). Indeed, it is understood that what people value about the past can define a place, a people or a culture. Therefore it is important not only to understand how a global community of historic preservation authorities defines heritage, but also to consider how a region or a specific place defines heritage, and then compare differences in those definitions.

### **International Definitions of Cultural Heritage**

The official definitions for the preservation of cultural resources that are most widely accepted internationally are those developed by the World Heritage Convention of 1972. These definitions were written by the International Council on Monuments and

Sites (ICOMOS) and adopted by the United Nations, Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO). This convention established criteria and standards that members of the United Nations should adhere to when investigating, preserving and promoting “world” heritage. Both natural and cultural heritage are given very clear definitions, and their significance is weighed as “outstanding universal value.” For example, the most basic definition reduces cultural heritage to monuments, buildings and sites. The World Heritage Convention uses very broad language to define “cultural heritage:”

Article 1- For the purpose of this Convention, the following shall be considered as "cultural heritage":

monuments: architectural works, works of monumental sculpture and painting, elements or structures of an archaeological nature, inscriptions, cave dwellings and combinations of features, which are of outstanding universal value from the point of view of history, art or science;

groups of buildings: groups of separate or connected buildings which, because of their architecture, their homogeneity or their place in the landscape, are of outstanding universal value from the point of view of history, art or science;

sites: works of man or the combined works of nature and man, and areas including archaeological sites which are of outstanding universal value.  
(UNESCO 1972)

As of June 2010, there are 704 “cultural properties” on the World Heritage List that fit this description in the 151 countries that have ratified the World Heritage Convention (UNESCO 2011). Each year, UNESCO holds a convention for officials of 187 member countries to submit and review applications to the World Heritage List. A single nomination to the World Heritage List is the culmination of years of work, and relatively few of the nominations are approved.

Despite the competition and prestige associated with a World Heritage Nomination, inscription on to the World Heritage List can be viewed as a toothless tiger, since being on the World Heritage List does not provide any legal protection at the international level. However, given the elevated status a World Heritage inscription brings to a site, and the high likelihood of an increase in tourist visitation and scrutiny by the international community, the World Heritage List is an enforcement tool in itself. Perhaps anticipating the rhetorical leverage it would have, the World Heritage Convention (WHC) included a key clause in section 11.4, giving UNESCO its only real power over how sites are cared for and managed: “The Committee may at any time, in case of urgent need, make a new entry in the List of World Heritage in Danger and publicize such entry immediately” (UNESCO 1972). In other words, the threat of being considered “in danger” or being removed from the list is an inducement to ensure host countries remain good stewards of world heritage.

There are several World Heritage Sites in Colombia, Ecuador and Venezuela, including the historic cities of Coro in Venezuela, Cartagena in Colombia and Cuenca in Ecuador. Being recognized as embodying heritage of “outstanding and universal value” is worn as a badge of honor by these places. In the cases of Coro, Cartagena and Cuenca, almost all materials produced by local and national governments, and tourism-related businesses, mention their inclusion on the World Heritage List. The same can be said for the historic center of Quito, and the campus of the Universidad Central de Venezuela, which are both on the World Heritage List as well. The designation of “outstanding and universal value” becomes a very marketable commodity (Hewison 1989, 22). As regions and nations compete for a market share of the tourism industry, inscription to the World Heritage List has become a coveted sign of credibility, significance and value, and the

criteria for inscription are often challenged and criticized for this tendency to shift the value of heritage from a resource to a commodity.

History is gradually being bent into something called Heritage, whose commodity values run from tea towels to the country house. My criticism is not simply that it is largely focused on an idealized past whose social values are those of an earlier age of privilege and exploitation that it serves to preserve and bring forward into the present. My objection is that Heritage is gradually effacing History, but substituting an image of the past for its reality.”(Hewison 1989, 21)

Hewison’s objection to the concept of ‘world heritage’ is one of the critical challenges of historic preservation: how to identify a cultural resource as heritage without compromising authenticity and integrity. Indeed, the definitions of “context” and “integrity” are also debated among historic preservation practitioners and scholars, but the definitions generally point towards maintaining legitimacy, credibility and accuracy, which also depend on another debated concept: “authenticity.” Though many scholars discuss authenticity in its varying contexts, Dean MacCannell’s definitions of authenticity continue to be the foundation for the discussion in the context of tourism. As published in early essays and his 1976 book *The Tourist*, MacCannell recognized the tension between heritage preservation and heritage production because of its inherent tendency to create a “staged authenticity,” which can also be understood as the commodification of heritage (MacCannell 1973, MacCannell 1999, 91-107).

### **The Commodification of Heritage**

The tendency to commodify heritage as a form of tourism is a controversial approach to preservation because the true value of that heritage may not be completely understood, especially to the beneficiaries and benefactors. To state it bluntly, as Kevin

Lynch does in his early contribution to historic preservation, *What Time is this Place?* “The history enshrined in museums is chosen and interpreted by those who give the dollars” (K Lynch 1972, 30). By declaring something heritage, communities can unwittingly perpetuate the injustices of the past they are trying to preserve. For example, World Heritage sites such as the aforementioned historic cities of Cartagena, Coro and Cuenca are lauded as “outstanding” examples of heritage because the physical integrity of the structures reflects the colonial period; and deservedly so. Indeed, these sites, along with myriad other colonial World Heritage sites, represent a significant moment in history, both culturally and aesthetically; however these same well preserved colonial districts and structures also embody a cruel and unjust colonial history that is easily overlooked (Harrison 2005, 6; K Lynch 1972, 28; Rojas 1999, 47).

This is problematic on many levels because the title of “heritage” not only favors the dominant powers of the past, but what is considered heritage today is also influenced by economics and politics. In his contribution to the book *The Politics of World Heritage*, David Harrison strongly criticizes the tendency, suggesting the World Heritage nomination process does in fact perpetuate the hierarchies of dominance:

[That which] is defined as heritage is linked to power: the power to impose a view of the world, especially of the past, on others. Perceptions of the past are closely linked to present hierarchies, and the voices of those at the top are often the most likely to prevail. (Harrison 2005, 7)

The preservation of heritage that represents dominant regimes is, perhaps, the most difficult effort to reconcile, or even justify, in countries emerging through imperial conquest such as Colombia, Ecuador and Venezuela. There are, however, instances where the preservation of world heritage does not favor the dominant regime. Harrison uses a very poignant example of how the value of heritage may or may not benefit a

given regime: “The achievements of vanquished peoples are rarely accorded the luxury of heritage status, and Robben Island, for instance, would never have been nominated for World Heritage Listing by a white government in South Africa” (Harrison 2005, 5). The German Nazi Concentration and Extermination Camps of Auschwitz in Poland (UNESCO 1979) are probably the most extreme example of World Heritage sites that commemorate genocide and other acts of state violence. The fact that both Auschwitz and Robben Island (UNESCO 1999) are on the World Heritage List gives credence to the idea that the preservation of cultural heritage can transcend political movements, economic trends and historic disparities, giving future generations something to meaningful inherit.

By definition, the concept of “world heritage” is meant to embody an inheritance that transcends international political boundaries and movements. In this context, the efforts of Colombia, Ecuador and Venezuela to commemorate their heritage as the source of the independence movement that led to the “liberation” of much of Latin America indeed transcends contemporary political boundaries and movements. More specifically, both the recently inaugurated *Ruta del Libertador* between Ecuador and Venezuela, and *Ruta Libertadora* in Colombia, commemorate a heritage that is not only directly shared by these three countries, but indirectly shared by much of Latin America. In fact, 2010 represents the bicentennial of the independence movement for many Latin American countries, including Argentina, Chile, Colombia, Ecuador, Mexico and Venezuela. And more broadly, the movement initiated by Bolívar can also be considered a form of world heritage, since it is representative of global struggles for post-colonial liberation.

## **CULTURAL ROUTES**

In terms of its application as a concept and typology used for the conservation of cultural heritage, a “cultural route” is a relatively new term. Just as the definition of “heritage” depends on its context, so does the definition of “cultural route,” especially since it is considered a sub-category of the broader definition of heritage. In an effort to improve the way ICOMOS adopts and implements the international conventions on the conservation and enhancement of architectural heritage, a series of committees are assigned to advance the knowledge of a given subject. Among the more than 20 committees dedicated to specific topics concerned with the conservation of monuments and sites is the Committee on Cultural Routes (CIIC). Formed in 1994 after the Route of Santiago de Compostela, Spain was inscribed to the World Heritage List, the purpose of the CIIC is to explore and clarify the meaning and significance of heritage “based on population movements, encounters and dialogue, and the exchange among and cross-fertilization of cultures in time and space” (ICOMOS-CIIC). The ICOMOS-CIIC definition of a “cultural route” would eventually be added to the World Heritage Convention as an official type of cultural heritage (ICOMOS 2004). The definition is included in original proposal submitted to the UNESCO World Heritage conference in Berlin, Germany in 1995:

A heritage route is composed of tangible elements of which the cultural significance comes from exchanges and a multi-dimensional dialogue across countries or regions, and that illustrate the interaction of movement, along the route, in space and time. (UNESCO 1995)

Since this definition was proposed in 1994 there have been several additional conferences and publications sponsored by the members of the ICOMOS-CIIC to clarify the meaning of the concept of a “cultural route,” including meetings on “The Intangible Heritage and

Other Aspects of Cultural Routes” in Pamplona, Spain in 2001 and the “Identification, Promotion and Inventory of Cultural Routes” in Ferrol, Spain in 2004. The CIIC committee also held meetings and presented papers at the ICOMOS General Assembly Meetings in Victoria Fall, Zimbabwe in 2003 and in Xi’an, China in 2005.

One of the results of these many meetings has been the refinement of the definition of a cultural route: a “cultural route” is now defined as something that is “discovered” in original place, as opposed to a “cultural tourism route,” which is something that is “created” for exploration (A Carreño 2003). In other words, a “cultural route” is more concerned with preserving the integrity of a heritage in its original context, whereas a “cultural tourism route” is more concerned with preserving the interpretation of a heritage, regardless of its context. However, it seems plausible that a “cultural tourism route” can also be part of a “cultural route.” This distinction between a “cultural route” and a “cultural tourism route,” however, is clearer in other languages, such as French and Spanish, which—when translated—are expressed as “cultural itinerary” and “cultural route,” respectively.

In Spanish and French, the concept of a “cultural itinerary” is what is called a “cultural route” in English; and what is considered a “cultural route” in Spanish and French is actually a “cultural tourism route” in English. This is demonstrated more concretely in the mere title of the committee: the meaning of “CIIC” changes when translated between languages of Germanic and Latin origin; in Spanish it means “*Comité Internacional de Itinerarios Culturales*,” in French it means “*Comité International des Itinéraires Culturels*,” however in English “CIIC” means “*International Committee on Cultural Routes*.” The name of the committee and the subsequent acronym “CIIC” can be attributed to the origins of the first committee members. Early members of the ICOMOS-CIIC were mostly from Spain and France because the Route of Santiago de

Compostela—spanning parts of France and Spain—was the first “cultural route” inscribed to UNESCO World Heritage List. When translated to English, however, the notion that an “itinerary” is more authentic and permanent than a “route” is difficult to accept, as “itinerary” is a term is more frequently used as a tourism-related expression than one related to heritage preservation.

### **Cultural Routes symposium in Quito, June 2010**

This distinction between the Spanish language “*itinerario*” and “*ruta*” was partially contradicted when Ecuador’s National Institute of Cultural Heritage<sup>1</sup> (INPC) hosted a symposium between June 28 and July 1, 2010 called the “*XVII Coloquio del Seminario de Estudio y Conservación del Patrimonio Cultural: Rutas Culturales*”<sup>2</sup>. Through the presentations and proceedings of the symposium, however, the more accepted ICOMOS-CIIC definition between “*itinerario*” and “*ruta*” was clarified and upheld. Figure 1.1, below, shows the cover page to the symposium program, which uses the term “*ruta*” instead of “*itinerario*.”

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<sup>1</sup> *Instituto Nacional de Patrimonio Cultural*; Translated by author.

<sup>2</sup> “XVII Colloquium on the Study and Conservation of Cultural Heritage: Cultural Routes”; translated by author.

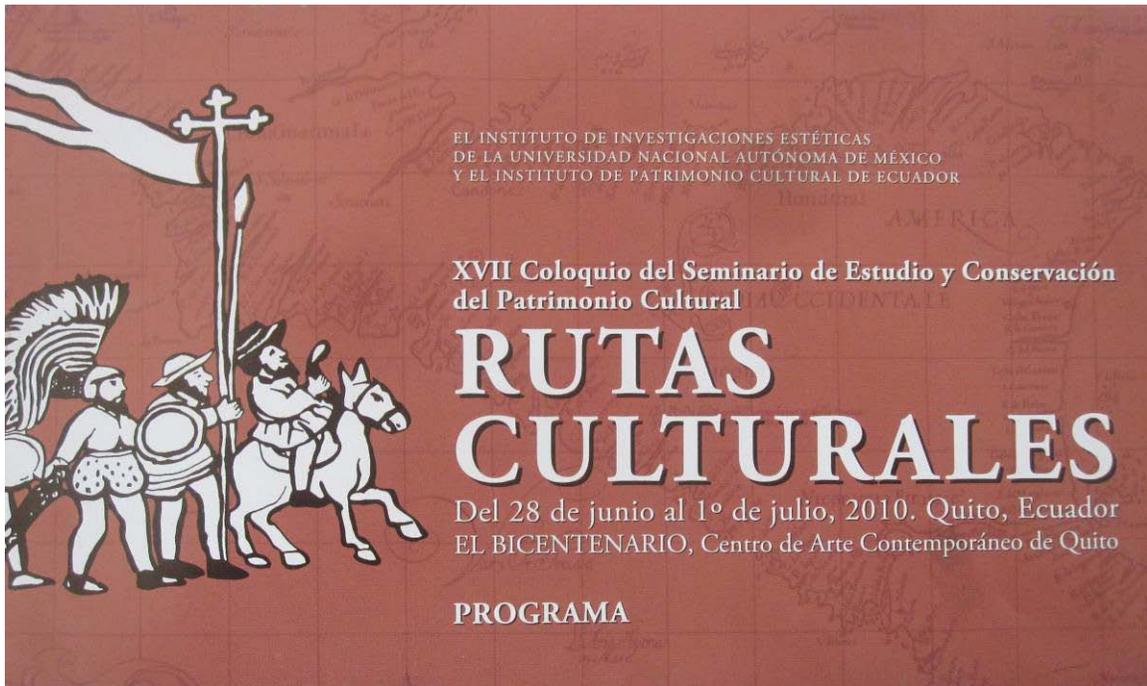


Figure 1.1 Program from Cultural Routes Symposium  
June 28 to July 1, 2010 in Quito Ecuador (photo by author).

This symposium was co-sponsored by the Institute of Esthetic Investigations at the National Autonomous University of Mexico (UNAM)<sup>3</sup>. The guest speakers, of which half were from Mexico and half from Ecuador, spoke on a range of topics and themes shared by both countries, including cultural routes related to pre-Colombian civilizations, the process of Spanish conquest and colonization, and the routes of German explorer Alexander Von Humboldt. There were also several presentations whose topics had little to do with cultural routes, and there was a missed opportunity to discuss any cultural routes that might be connected to the independence movement.

Though there was no scheduled discussion of cultural routes specifically related to either country's independence, the topic of independence was a frequent and common

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<sup>3</sup> *El Instituto de Investigaciones Estéticas de la Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México*; Translated by author.

theme, especially in the opening and closing ceremonies as both Mexico and Ecuador were celebrating the bicentennials of their independence from Spain in 2010. Even though their histories are geographically separate, the process of colonization of and liberation from Spain were chronologically rather parallel. The fact that both countries were celebrating 200 years of independence gave the symposium an added air of importance.

This symposium reiterated some of the key debates and discussions on “cultural routes” as nearly every presentation included a discussion on how their topic represented the concept of a cultural route. Whether discussing a cultural route of silver mines, tequila distilleries, churches or pre-Columbian ruins, the presentations always included discussion on the importance of clarifying the concept of what a “cultural route” is and how that definition fits a given heritage. Again, since the presentations were given in Spanish, the concept of an “*itinerario*” (cultural route) was juxtaposed with that of a “*ruta*” (cultural tourism route). The “*itinerario*” was described as a series of places, people or things that were historically connected; whereas a “*ruta*” was described as a series of historical places, people or things that may or may not have been historically connected, but that are now linked for the purposes of tourism. In general, this symposium was a meaningful example of how the concept of the “cultural route” has evolved in the decade it has been considered an official type of heritage.

### **Difficulties of heritage translation**

The symposium also highlighted several other concepts whose meanings can be lost in translation between languages of different origin. In Spanish, there are many cases where the terms “conservation” is used instead of “preservation.” In Spanish “*conservación histórica*” is more akin to “historic preservation” in English, even though

its direct translation is “conservation,” which, in English, generally alludes to the protection of natural resources.

Another subtle linguistic discrepancy is the preference to use the Spanish term for “patrimony” where “heritage” would be used in English. In Spanish, “*patrimonio cultural*” is used almost exclusively when referring to “cultural heritage,” although “*herencia cultural*” is a more literal translation from English. Even though its meaning has become synonymous with “heritage,” the etymological origins of “patrimony” are distinct. The first four letters of “patrimony” emphasize the more “paternal” connections to the past. This may reinforce the tendency of former colonies to appear to embrace their colonial heritage, or the patriarchal influences of the Catholic Church. Scholars also suggest that, in English, “patrimony” is primarily used to represent symbolic value, whereas “heritage” is a term that typically reflects legal and proprietary value (Castañeda 2009, 279). This distinction, however, does not address the discrepancy in translation from Spanish to English. During the symposium on cultural routes in Quito, this gap in translation was mentioned several times; not only the gap in meaning, but the fact that “leading” scholars—regardless of their country of origin—more often have their work published in English than Spanish. This was more an observation than a criticism that Spanish-speaking scholars are somewhat marginalized in the international conversation—either because some do not read English, or many Spanish-speaking scholars will not be widely read unless they publish in English.

### **Examples of Cultural Routes**

Since the Route of Santiago de Compostela was accepted onto the UNESCO World Heritage List in 1993, and since the subsequent refinement of the definitions of the concept of a “cultural route,” several prominent cultural routes have been elevated to

World Heritage status. Because of the strict definitions of what can be considered a cultural route, and due to the increasingly stringent requirements for any type of heritage (natural or cultural) to be inscribed onto the World Heritage list, some of the most prominent cultural routes have only made it to the “Tentative List.” The “Tentative List” is “an inventory” of cultural resources that each nominating country hopes to have considered for inclusion on the World Heritage List in up-coming conventions, where they will be judged not only on whether they have “outstanding universal value” but have an accompanying management plan for their preservation (UNESCO 2011).

Table 1, below, provides examples of cultural routes that are listed by the UNESCO World Heritage Center. Some have been inscribed onto the World Heritage List; others are on the “Tentative List.”

Table 1.1 Examples of Cultural Heritage Routes recognized by UNESCO

Route Name	Description
Route of Santiago de Compostela, Spain	<p>“This route from the French-Spanish border was—and still is—taken by pilgrims to Santiago de Compostela. Some 1,800 buildings along the route, both religious and secular, are of great historic interest. The route played a fundamental role in encouraging cultural exchanges between the Iberian peninsula and the rest of Europe during the Middle Ages. It remains a testimony to the power of the Christian faith among people of all social classes and from all over Europe.” (UNESCO 1993)</p>
Silk Route (or Silk Road), throughout Asia and the Middle East	<p>“The Silk Route is a corridor that is stretched mainly east to west and has connected all Asian and European civilizations to each other ... The part which is located in the political geography of Iran is nominated for inscription in the World Heritage List (Tentative List). The Silk Route is the longest route all around the globe. This corridor has connected four civilizations and according to archeological findings, the prehistoric human beings resided around most of its spots.” (UNESCO 2008)</p>
Camino Real de Tierra Adentro (The Royal Inland Road), Mexico	<p>“Also known as the Silver Route, the inscribed property consists of 55 sites and five existing World Heritage sites lying along a 1400 km section of this 2600 km route that extends north from Mexico City to Texas and New Mexico, United States of America. The route was actively used as a trade route for 300 years, from the mid-16th to the 19th centuries, mainly for transporting silver extracted from the mines of Zacatecas, Guanajuato and San Luis Potosí, and mercury imported from Europe.” (UNESCO 2010a)</p> <p>Though the official World Heritage designation stops at the US/Mexico “El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro National Historic Trail” is listed by the United States National Park Service. (NPS)</p>
Qhapaq Ñan (Main Andean Road), Argentina, Bolivia, Chile, Colombia, Ecuador and Perú	<p>“Qhapaq Ñan was the backbone of the Inca Empire’s political and economic power. The whole network of roads over 23,000 km in length connected various production, administrative and ceremonial centers constructed over more than 2,000 years of pre-Inca Andean culture.” (UNESCO 2010b)</p> <p>According to technicians working on the nomination in Ecuador and Colombia, the route will be nominated to the UNESCO World Heritage List in 2012</p>

## **CULTURAL HERITAGE TOURISM**

Cultural and heritage tourism has grown from the curiosity of a few intrepid researchers, to the leisure of the world's wealthy elite, and finally to a burgeoning international industry for an increasingly affluent and growing middle class, especially in Latin America. As the middle class has grown in Latin America, there are more people who have leisure dollars to spend in "recreating" in their own country and region. Furthermore, local tourists are more likely to visit year-round instead of in the typical seasonal surges of international tourists. This can provide a more sustainable livelihood for regional tourism providers (Howard 2003, 125).

As a growing international industry, heritage tourism relies on the investment in the preservation and interpretation of historical peoples, places, objects and memories. As economic benefits related to heritage tourism emerge in a community, there is an increased pressure on that community to explore and often exploit those resources. According to the United Nations World Tourism Organization, the business volume of tourism "equals or even surpasses that of oil exports, food products or automobiles" (UNWTO 2011a). Tourism is also one of the main sources of revenue for many developing countries, which find themselves competing to promote a more diverse variety of destination types, including cultural heritage sites (World Bank 2011a).

In the introduction to the anthology *Cultural heritage and tourism in the developing world: a regional perspective*, editors Dallen J. Timothy and Gyan P. Nyaupane call cultural heritage tourism "one of the largest, most pervasive, and fastest growing sectors of the tourism industry." They go on to say that this is especially true in the developing world, where it is often offered as a mechanism for poverty alleviation and economic development (Timothy and Nyaupane 2009, 3).

## **Promoting economic development**

In South America many countries are investing in the potential economic benefits of cultural heritage tourism, specifically creating different themes, especially routes, as ways to encourage tourists to visit a more diverse range of settings. For example, between 2007 and 2009, the Ministry of Tourism in Ecuador created several “cultural routes,” including the “*Ruta del Spondylus*,” which follows the coastal region where the “spondylus” shell has significant cultural meaning; the “*Ruta de la Canela*,” which connects the cinnamon and spice industry in the Amazon region; the “*Ruta al Chimborazo*,” which leads to the highest peak in Ecuador; the “*Ruta al Camino del Inca*,” which is a network of roads used by the Inca civilization; and the “*Ruta del Tren*,” which is a series of remodeled trains that follow historic tracks (Turismo 1a). In Colombia, the Ministry of Culture established a series of cultural routes in preparation for the 2010 bicentennial. In addition to the “*Ruta Libertadora*,” these included the “*Ruta Mutis*,” which connects a series of natural-heritage features in northern Colombia; the “*Ruta de los Comuneros*,” which links a number of towns that were involved in the independence struggle; and the “*Ruta de la Gran Convención*,” which traces several historical events to the location where the first constitution of Colombia was signed (Cultura 3b)

International organizations such as the United Nations World Tourism Organization (UNWTO), the Inter-American Development Bank (IDB) and the World Bank are promoting and investing in cultural heritage as a sustainable form of tourism. International routes, such as the Silk Road, are becoming large-scale, multi-national economic-development projects. For example, in March of 2011, the UNWTO held a summit in Berlin, Germany to coordinate a multi-national effort to promote international cultural heritage tourism along the Silk Road. Tourism Ministers and Ambassadors from 25 countries along the Silk Road discussed approaches for “leveraging continued tourism

growth.” The focus of the summit was to promote “a consistent and cohesive Silk Road brand identity across destinations” (UNWTO 2011b). This summit also engaged tour operators as well, with a goal of defining a uniformed theme related to a very complex heritage for all participating countries, which will likely benefit some countries more than others.

Many international and national financing organizations have created programs that utilize the economic potential of tourism as a means of development. For example, the World Bank’s Sustainable Tourism in Latin America and the Caribbean project’s mission is specifically to reduce poverty, build environmental sustainability, foster social responsibility and preserve cultural heritage through the promotion of responsible tourism activities (World Bank 2011b).

According to the Inter-American Development Bank, “tourism accounts for 11 percent of the world’s gross domestic product, 7 percent of all job opportunities in Latin America and the Caribbean and it is among the top five sources for foreign currency for poor nations” (IDB 2010). Tourism is considered a labor-intensive industry that can increase employment and reduce poverty, particularly among developing nations. In Latin America, there are many similar projects, but on a smaller scale. More regional routes, such as the “Tequila Trail” in Mexico, are promoted as economic drivers as well. Similarly nationalistic projects have been promoted in Ecuador (the Galápagos Islands, for example) and Colombia (IDB 2010). Perhaps because of its very nationalistic and populist views, Venezuela receives little support from international financing organizations to promote tourism. However, that does not mean Venezuela is not using tourism to promote its national heritage and identity.

### **(Re) defining national identity**

Regardless of how much or little one has traveled, tourism, or a lack of tourism, can shape the way we view the world around us. Indeed, experiencing foreign cultures is a useful way of reflecting on one's own culture. Whether for a holiday or from the way destinations are promoted through travel brochures, guides and websites, the experience of another culture is often shaped by the advertising we encounter (Mowforth and Munt 1998, 6)

For countries seeking to reinforce, or invigorate, a type of nationalistic fervor or identity, the way destinations are portrayed can play a key role in forming that identity. In his chapter on "Cultural Roots," Benedict Anderson suggests that heritage is a defining component of national identity: 'Nationalism has to be understood by aligning it with the "large cultural systems that precede it, out of which - as well as against which - it came into being"' (Anderson 1991, 12). Returning to the case of Venezuela, there is very little subtlety in this approach, as the international visitor is immediately greeted with heritage-related propaganda upon arrival at the Simon Bolívar International Airport, just outside of Caracas. Figure 3, below, is a small example of an effort in Venezuela to use heritage as a means for promoting and creating national identity. The image of Simón Bolívar is replicated so much by the Venezuelan government that the visitor might wonder if he were in fact still alive.



Figure 1.2 Simón Bolívar International Airport near Caracas, Venezuela  
View of from Immigration line (Photo by author).

Indeed, some governments produce identity as a deliberate policy to push a political agenda (Howard 2003, 169), which is arguably the case in Venezuela. There are other cases, however where heritage is deliberately destroyed, such as the Balkan War of the 1990s, where Christian churches and Muslim mosques were destroyed, and in Afghanistan with the Taliban destruction of Buddhist monuments (Howard 2003, 169).

## **Challenges with heritage preservation and tourism**

Like any other profitable industry, there are many signs that the benefits of the tourism industry are not evenly distributed, just as the burdens are unevenly born. Research on the positive and negative effects of tourism (including heritage tourism) has overwhelmingly focused on the hierarchies of economic, political and social dominance the tourism industry creates between wealthy and poor countries (Mowforth and Munt 1998). There is also a tendency for heritage tourism to disproportionately over-represent people and places of power (Howard 2003, 169). Indeed, much of the discussion on tourism has focused on the privileged tourist consuming the resources of marginalized places; often people from wealthy countries visiting poor countries. For tourists, these “resources” run the gambit of tangible and intangible cultural and natural resources, with varying levels of “value” (as discussed above in the definition of “heritage”).

With an influx of tourists, the dynamics of a community will likely change (Harrison 2005, 4). Tourism development, however, is likely to promote or exacerbate the process of commoditization, which can alter the story being told about a given heritage (Harrison 2005, 4). In the case of Simón Bolívar, because he was born in Venezuela, some Venezuelans feel more entitled to embrace his legacy as their heritage than others, whereas some Colombians feel the fact that he died in Colombia gives them a more authentic connection. This debate between who is entitled to a given heritage is discussed more in Chapter Three. But in order to better understand the context in which the legacy of Simón Bolívar is represented, the next chapter gives an overview of his life.

## Chapter Two: The Life and Legacy of Simón Bolívar

Simón Bolívar is not only a defining figure in the history of South America, but his legacy continues to be a prominent icon of current politics and culture. Interpretations, reinterpretations, iterations and reiterations of his legacy vary from history to mythology as scores of biographies and novels have been—and continue to be—published.

For my literature review in this chapter, I draw, in particular, on historian John Lynch's definitive biography of Bolívar entitled *Simón Bolívar: A Life*. But just in 2010 alone, several books were published in effort to reinterpret the legacy of Simón Bolívar, including *El Pensamiento del Libertador* by Venezuelan economist and historian Luís Britto García; *En Busca de Bolívar* by Colombian economist and historian William Ospina; *La Otra Cara de Bolívar: La Guerra contra Pablo Morillo* by Colombian author Pablo Victoria and *El Sueño de Bolívar* by the French journalist and Ecuadorian resident Marc Saint-Upéry. That same year, a number of additional books on Bolívar were also published, including *Conquer or Die: Wellington's Veterans and the Liberation of the New World*, by British author Ben Hughes, and *For Glory and Bolívar: the Remarkable Life of Manuela Sáenz*, by Pamela S. Murray and Fredrick B. Pike. Some of the accounts of Bolívar achieve international prominence and acclaim because of their creative license, as in the case of the Colombian author and Nobel laureate Gabriel Garcia Marquez in his 1989 biographical novel, *The General in His Labyrinth*.

But the legacy of Simón Bolívar is not limited to histories and novels. In 2010, the presence of Simón Bolívar seemed just as, if not more, vivid than during any other period in history. In addition to the larger-than-life sculptures displayed in prominent plazas and streets that bear his name, there were countless cultural and political events

celebrating or commemorating Bolívar's legacy. In fact, 2010 was branded the bicentennial of the Liberation of Colombia, Ecuador and Venezuela, even though 2010 only represented the bicentennial of the beginning of the struggle for independence, a struggle that lasted a very bloody and brutal 15 years. But this Bolivarian renaissance is indicative of a tendency of people to latch on to the legacy of heroes of the past. Not unlike the "Founding Fathers" in the United States, Simón Bolívar's legacy tends to be larger than life and his accomplishments glorified, despite the many difficult truths about his life, including his many struggles and failures.

While Bolívar's virtues and triumphs manage to prevail, it is important to highlight that he was also a man of many contradictions, flaws and failures, as Bolívar himself acknowledged in his own life and writings. Based on the enduring omnipresence of Bolívar's name, image and figure throughout Venezuela, Colombia and Ecuador (and other countries), one might assume the story of his life to be widely and easily understood. Yet popular perception is most often reduced to a mythological representation of an infallible patriarch who gave his life for his cause, earning him the title of "The Liberator" even before his death.

This chapter is not a critique of Simón Bolívar, nor a critique of those who celebrate his legacy. This is a chronicle of how two interpretations of the same heritage are told uniquely, but in parallel; and a proposal that political ideology influences the way nations understand and identify with their heritage. First I will provide a summary of his life. Second I will show the myriad examples of how Bolívar is represented today. These examples will lead to the next chapter, where I give two specific examples of the Bolivarian renaissance: the *Ruta Libertadora* in Colombia and the *Ruta del Libertador* in Ecuador and Venezuela.

## **BIOGRAPHY OF BOLÍVAR**

Simón Bolívar was born in Caracas, Venezuela, July 24, 1783, to a Venezuelan family of tremendous wealth that had been accumulated over the seven generations since his earliest ancestor emigrated from Spain. As the youngest of four siblings, whose father died when he was almost three and mother when he was nine, young Bolívar grew up in the care of an uncle who was an “unsympathetic middle-aged bachelor” (Bushnell 2003a, 3). It is understood that his uncle gave the young Bolívar little attention. Instead, he attempted to control his nephew’s inheritance for his own interests, as Bolívar was heir not only to his father’s fortune, but also his father’s uncle’s (J Lynch 2006, 8).

Because of the family’s elevated social status and substantial financial means, Bolívar was sent to Spain at age 15, in 1799, to formalize his education. This is also the period when, at age seventeen, he met María Teresa Rodríguez del Toro y Alayza, also of a wealthy Venezuelan family. Though she was almost three years his senior they would marry a year later in San Sebastián, Spain; promptly returning to Venezuela to live on one of Bolívar’s numerous estates. But after only eight months in Venezuela, his wife died of an illness (J Lynch 2006, 20). This tragedy would be a pivotal moment in his life, as his ambitions changed from those of a married man—to continue his family traditions (agriculture and mines)—to those of an intellectual and a revolutionary. He vowed to never marry again, and by 1803 he had returned to Europe to learn from the revolutionary movements already underway.

Bolívar’s second stay in Europe would be a period of intellectual refinement and “political awakening,” especially as he watched, firsthand and in dismay, the way Napoleon consolidated power as the emperor of France (J Lynch 2006, 24). He was evidently impressed, if not influenced by Napoleon’s actions and appearance, as Lynch

explains, “Bolívar was struck by the emperor’s plain clothing in contrast to that of his officers” (J Lynch 2006, 24, 30).

As if already understanding his place in history, the formative education and experiences of Bolívar’s 22 years culminated in Rome, on August 15 1805, after his own ideology had been influenced by the destruction and suffering he had seen under ruthless monarchies in both Europe and South America. Years later, his own tutor Simón Rodríguez, who accompanied him from Venezuela to Europe, would recall that “the sufferings of his own country overwhelmed his mind, and he knelt down and made that vow whose faithful fulfillment the emancipation of South America is the glorious witness.”<sup>4</sup> Rodríguez recalled the moment when they climbed Monte Sacro in Rome and Bolívar made his famous vow:

I swear before you, I swear by the God of my fathers, I swear by my fathers, I swear by my honor, I swear by my country that I will not rest body or soul until I have broken the chains with which Spanish power oppresses us<sup>5</sup>

The credibility of whether or not this pronouncement happened has been challenged and verified by historians since the day it was published, but the validity is indisputable as Simón Bolívar would very much follow through, both in spirit and body.

Bolívar was very well read and keenly aware of historical and current events. In addition to the observation of his surroundings in both Caracas and Europe, Bolívar was very much influenced by ideas presented by authors of the Enlightenment, such as Montesquieu and Voltaire and especially Rousseau’s *Social Contract* (J Lynch 2006, 34). Indeed, Bolívar’s views and actions would embody the ideals of the Enlightenment: not

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<sup>4</sup> From Lynch 2006, 26; quoting O’Leary, *Narración*, I, 61.

<sup>5</sup> From Lynch 2002, 26; quoting *Escritos IV*, 14-16; the text of this vow, the *Juramento de Roma*, was reconstructed years later from memory by Rodríguez and given to Manuel Uribe in 1850, who published it in *Homenaje de Colombia al Libertador* (Bogotá, 1884).

only embracing Montesquieu's call for people to "*think for yourself*," but living Rousseau's insistence that one must "*be yourself*" (J Lynch 2006, 36).

As demonstrated by his famous oath in Rome, Bolívar intended to return to Venezuela. However, his voyage home was delayed by a visit to the United States. Little is known of Bolívar's visit to the United States in late 1806 and early 1807, but he spent much of his time in New England. Of the few thoughts he recorded on that visit, Bolívar said, "During my short visit to the United States, for the first time in my life, I saw rational liberty at first hand."<sup>6</sup>

The significance of Bolívar's intellectual and political influences lies not in how much he would apply the examples of Europe, but how he would form his own ideology appropriate to the condition of the peoples and struggles of the colonies: "Bolívar was not a slave to French or North American examples. His own revolution was unique, and in developing his ideas and policies he followed not the models of the Western world but the needs of his own America" (J Lynch 2006, 29)

## **FIRST REVOLUTION**

After several years abroad, Bolívar returned to Venezuela in 1807 with stronger and deeper intellectual and political convictions, and with "an independent spirit" (J Lynch 2006, 40). While his ideas for independence were not shared by his peers (J Lynch 2006, 41), Bolívar was determined to renounce his own heritage of privilege and fight for what he now believed to be a greater cause: "A product of the colony, he was to become the colony's fiercest enemy" (J Lynch 2006, 42).

Bolívar's timing could not have been more opportune, as this was the same time Napoleon would invade Spain, which would leave the Spanish colonies more vulnerable

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<sup>6</sup> From Lynch 2006, 39; quoting Pérez Vila, *La formación intelectual del Libertador*, 61.

to secessionist efforts. By 1810 there was a formidable movement to seize control from the Spanish colonists and those who supported the crown, known as “royalists.” Those who sought to secede from Spain were called “republicans,” and were mostly upper class creoles—people of Spanish descent, but born in the “new world,” often for several generations, like Bolívar. In other words, people of African, mixed-race, or indigenous descents were not early supporters of the independence movement. The independence movement was very much a case of wealthy elites trying to gain more control over their own land and people.

As the French destabilized Spain, Bolívar became one of the leaders of the resistance movement, joining the ranks of Francisco de Miranda, who, being of the previous generation (March 28, 1750 – July 14, 1816), some 27 years Bolívar’s senior, had long been a supporter and symbol of Spanish resistance (Ospina 2010, 14). Also a native of Caracas, and more experienced than Bolívar, Miranda observed, studied and participated in revolutions firsthand. Miranda hoped to gain British support to back an invasion of Britain’s enemy, Spain, but when France took control of Spain, Britain’s priorities changed, leaving Miranda and the colonies to lead the charge against the Spanish alone (J Lynch 2006, 51).

Like Miranda, Bolívar also went to England where he tried, unsuccessfully, to negotiate an alliance in 1810. But he did succeed in convincing Francisco Miranda to return to Venezuela to lead the first, successful revolt against the Spanish in Venezuela. Miranda declared independence on July 5, 1811, but this first Republic of Venezuela was not only short lived, it was in discord with Bolívar’s own values, especially his concerns about social segregation and the continuation of slavery. This would be a defining political moment as well, because the abolition of slavery would divide many of the parties interested in gaining control after secession from Spain (J Lynch 2006, 56-58).

“Royalist” forces were never fully pushed out of Venezuela, as battles between republican and royalist factions ensued, and the royalists soon regained control of the Venezuelan territory.

By July 25, 1812 the republicans surrendered to the royalists with Miranda signing the San Mateo pact, much to Bolívar’s chagrin. So upset was Bolívar with Miranda that he went out of his way to turn Miranda over to their enemy. To many historians this was one of Bolívar’s most dubious actions, as he essentially betrayed his predecessor by tricking Miranda into being arrested by the Spanish (Bushnell 2003a, 38; J Lynch 2006, 62). Though Bolívar defended this action as an act of unwavering dedication to the fight for independence, turning Miranda over to the Spanish not only benefitted Bolívar in that he was granted freedom to leave the country, but established him as the next in line to lead the independence movement. Immortalized with the title “The Precursor” of the revolution, Miranda would never return to fight the cause, dying in a Spanish prison and being buried in a mass grave (Bushnell 2003a, 39; J Lynch 2006, 62).

This disappointment of the first republic was compounded by a large earthquake that shook Caracas on March 26, 1812, which was followed by another earthquake on April 4, killing an estimated 20,000. Despite the succession of tragedies, Bolívar would use them both, the failed first republic and the earthquake, to embolden his resolve to remove the Spanish. In fact, moments after the earthquake, a royalist reporter recorded him as he made his way through the rubble to have declared battle against not only the royalists, but also against the church/God and nature: “Even if nature opposes us we will fight against it and may it obey us”<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>7</sup>As documented by royalist journalist José Dominguez Díaz moments after the earthquake of March 26, 1812: “On the top of the ruins I found Don Simón Bolívar in his shirt sleeves clambering over the debris to see the same sight I had seen. On his face was written the utmost horror or the utmost despair. He saw

## SECOND REVOLUTION

Turning over Miranda to the Spanish enabled Bolívar to obtain a Spanish passport, which he used to leave Venezuela, regroup as an exile for a short period in Curacao and revive the fight for independence through Nueva Granada (now Colombia). While beginning this second effort in Cartagena, Bolívar wrote and published the “Cartagena Manifesto,” which articulated a clear vision of independence and emphasized the importance of a unified continent to defeat the royalists (J Lynch 2006, 66, 67).

Though there was a royalist resistance, many Nueva Granadians (Colombians) were eager to support Bolívar. By late 1812, the republican movement was gaining momentum, having won many small battles against the Spanish. Interestingly, this renewed effort began near the mouth of the Magdalena River (J Lynch 2006, 69), which is where his final battles against his countrymen and health would end in despair some 18 years later.

By defeating the Spanish in the sweltering tropical climates and harsh rugged mountains of New Granada and Venezuela, Bolívar’s abilities and resilience as a commander would become widely known and highly respected (J Lynch 2006, 70). Soon Bolívar began to amass a substantial army that would march into Mérida, Venezuela, uncontested, where he would be given the title of *El Libertador* (“The Liberator”), a title that would accompany him forever. By August 1813, Bolívar and his supporters regained control of Venezuela when he returned to Caracas as The Liberator (J Lynch 2006, 75). But even this second republic would fail, largely because Bolívar was unable to convince not only the Venezuelan elite, but the poor-working class to unify under a single,

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me and spoke these impious and extravagant words...” (From J Lynch 2006, 1; quoting *Recuerdos sobre la rebellion de Caracas*, Biblioteca de la Academia Nacional de la Historia, 38, Caracas, 1961).

republican cause (J Lynch 2006, 87). In other words, the elite wanted to maintain regional power, and the poor preferred the security under the Spanish. As Venezuela fell back under Spanish control, Bolívar would attempt to retain control in New Granada, but even there he would be forced to flee in exile to Jamaica.

### **THIRD REVOLUTION**

While in exile in Jamaica in 1815, Bolívar promoted South American independence to the international community in his famous letter “Answer of a South American to a Gentleman of this Island” (known in Spanish as the *Carta de Jamaica*). This letter addressed the causes of the previous failures, and made a justification for the moral, political and economic reasons for South American independence. This letter would also validate his intellectual and political prowess on the international stage (J Lynch 2006, 91-96).

By the end of 1815, Bolívar’s exile extended to Haiti where, he was inspired by and equipped for a third attempt at revolution by Alexandre Pétion—the first black president of Haiti and leader of their independence fight against the French. Pétion supported Bolívar’s cause, but would help Bolívar only if he promised to abolish slavery (J Lynch 2006, 97). Bolívar obliged, partly in gratitude and partly because he understood he needed as many men as possible to fight. Furthermore, he did not want to inspire any unnecessary resistance (J Lynch 2006, 108). As Bolívar gained control of regions, he would free slaves on the condition that they serve and fight for the republican army. Emancipation, however, was not a popular cause, not only among wealthy slave owners, but even among slaves who were “not interested in fighting the creoles’ war” (J Lynch 2006, 109). And as much as Bolívar was an abolitionist, the cause for emancipation met resistance, even after unconditional freedom was made into law in 1821 (J Lynch 2006,

151). The conundrum of granting freedom yet requiring/demanding military service was never fully resolved for Bolívar. But with provisions from Haiti, this third attempt would take hold, this time marching through Venezuela from the east, through Guyana (J Lynch 2006, 103). By 1819 he would be president of The Republic of Colombia (present-day Venezuela and Colombia<sup>8</sup>). The liberation and the territory under Bolívar's control would eventually extend to the Presidency of Quito (present-day Ecuador) by 1822, to Lower Perú (present-day Perú) by 1824, and to Upper Perú (present-day Bolivia) by 1825. All of these regions, however, would become independent countries shortly after Bolívar's death in 1830.

### **THE LEGACY OF “EL LIBERTADOR”**

The fact that the Liberation of South America took several attempts over the course of almost 20 years indicates the path towards independence was a long, difficult struggle for everyone involved. In addition to covering vast territories, over impossible terrain, the Liberation movement led by Simón Bolívar was also a struggle to win the hearts of the people for whom he fought. However, because the fight was declared “war to the death” by Bolívar in an official decree (Brown 2009, 17-20; J Lynch 2006, 73), the sheer carnage of the struggle cast leaders, of both sides, as “merciless” and “cruel,” thus making it all the more challenging to win the hearts and minds of people in fear.

Throughout his campaigns, Bolívar continued to fight battles on multiple fronts, including retaliations from the Spanish, insubordination among his own ranks and the constant threat of a race war (J Lynch 2006, 117) as elite *criollos* were resistant to sharing the same rights as blacks and *mulattos*; and as the blacks and *mulattos* demanded

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<sup>8</sup> The territory that is now Colombia was called New Granada until 1863. Before that, the territory was known as Cundinamarca, which is derivation of the Quechua word for “the land of the condor,” which is the name of the state, of which Bogotá is also the capital.

more and more rights. Despite his many losses, historians agree Bolívar was a very competent tactician, both politically and militarily (J Lynch 2006, 117).

His skills would be put to the test as Bolívar led the liberation through the most challenging terrain of the region. Between May 27 and July 19 of 1819, Bolívar led an ever struggling, tattered army through the most rugged terrain between Venezuela and New Granada (Hughes 2010). The passage included sweltering swamps, 13,000-foot mountain passes and endless rain (J Lynch 2006, 127-129). This march included the now famous and decisive battles against the Spanish, including the Pantano de Vargas on July 25 and the Battle of Boyocá on August 7, 1819. The Battle of Boyocá was celebrated as a “great triumph over Spain and over nature” (J Lynch 2006, 299) as it marked the beginning of the Spanish retreat. These improbable yet notable victories enabled Bolívar to make his way to Bogotá uncontested.

However, almost as soon as the regions gained independence from Spain, factions of elite power holders began to resist the concept of a united republic (J Lynch 2006, 133). Bolívar observed this tension in 1826, “The south hates the north, the coast hates the highlands, Venezuela hates Cundinamarca; Cundinamarca suffers from the disorders of Venezuela.”<sup>9</sup> *Caudillos* and wealthy land owners took to creating autonomous regions within the newly liberated territory. This resistance would plague Bolívar throughout the rest of his life because it was so directly in contrast to his vision, as Bolívar said to his congress in 1819: “The union of New Granada and Venezuela has been my only object since I first took up arms...”<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>9</sup> From J Lynch 2006, 218; quoting Bolívar to Santander, Ibarra, 8 October 1826, *Cartas Santander-Bolívar*, VI 42-6

<sup>10</sup> In J Lynch 2006, 133; from Bolívar to Congress, Angostura, 14 December 1819, O’Leary, *Memorias*, XVI, 565. During this same series of meetings, the congress created the Republic of Colombia to include Venezuela, Cundinamarca (now Colombia) and the Presidency of Quito (now Ecuador), which had yet to be liberated (Lynch 2006, 234).

Despite (or perhaps because of) being the undisputed leader of the independence movement for twenty years, and for serving as president of the Republic of Colombia for a decade (1819-1830) and surviving several assassination attempts, Bolívar was detested for his apparent despotism and absolutism by those who opposed him (J Lynch 2006, 266). Shortly before his death in 1830, as the Republic of Colombia began to fracture into several autonomous nations, Bolívar said, “the tyrants of my country have taken it from me and I am banished; now I have no homeland for which to sacrifice myself” (J Lynch 2006, 269). By May of 1830, both Venezuela (on the 6th) and Ecuador (on the 13th) both seceded from Colombia (J Lynch 2006, 269).

His memory became an inspiration to later generations and also a battleground. To liberal historians he was a fighter against tyranny. Conservatives redesigned him as a cult. Marxists dismissed him as the leader of a bourgeois revolution. And he still evokes public passions and polemics. He has been appropriated by partisans and co-opted by governments: his current incarnation in Venezuela as the model of authoritarian populism projects yet another interpretation of his leadership and challenges the historian to set the record straight. (J Lynch 2006, xi)

In the nearly two centuries since his death, there have been many efforts to revive and relive the legacy of Bolívar. These have taken almost every form of fiction and non-fiction, including novels, plays, histories and biographies, as well as portraits and paintings. There have also been significant efforts made to document the routes taken by Bolívar during the revolutionary wars.

Most recently, while I was conducting my field research in Venezuela in 2010, renowned Venezuelan architect Graciano Gaspirini pointed out that another American had investigated the liberation path led by Bolívar.<sup>11</sup> A lecturer in Latin American

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<sup>11</sup> I met Graciano Gaspirini in July of 2010 while attending an exhibit and lecture in Caracas called “2 X Gaspirini,” as an invited guest of María Eugenia Bacci of the Universidad Central de Venezuela. This was the first time I had heard of this expedition by Bingham.

History at Yale University also conducted field research by visiting the places where Bolívar led marches and battles in order to better understand the context of Latin American independence movements. Hiram Bingham set out to follow the route of “El Libertador,” starting in Caracas and ending in Bogotá and published *The Journal of an Expedition across Venezuela and Colombia, 1906-1907: An exploration of the route of Bolivar's celebrated march of 1819 and of the battle-fields of Boyacá and Carabobo*. Bingham gives a very detailed account of not only the condition of the sites along the route, but that of the people and the surrounding environment. Bingham justifies this expedition because there were “no maps of [Bolívar’s] battle-fields and few trustworthy accounts of the scenes of his greatest activity” (Bingham 1909, v). Bingham continues:

I came to the conclusion that if I wished to understand this period in the history of South America, it would be necessary for me to undertake an expedition that should for its object not only a study of the country where Bolívar lived and fought, and a visit to the scenes of his most important battles, Carabobo and Boyocá, but also an exploration of the route of his most celebrated campaign. (Bingham 1909, v)

Undoubtedly others would write about Bolívar, but few would consider the places he traveled as significant for study until Colombian historian Rafael Bernal Medina published his book *Ruta de Bolívar* in 1949. Bernal Medina meticulously summarizes Bolívar’s life using a chronological series of maps that show the true “route of Bolívar,” from his birth until his death, and all the major cities and events in between (Bernal Medina 1961). It should be noted that this text uses both *ruta* and *itinerario* to describe the historic route.

In order to follow his “geographic route” it is necessary to know and understand his “spiritual route.” One could say his itinerary (i.e. “path”) is a function of his doctrine. This parallelism explains why the Liberator is

above all a *thinker* and *fighter*, which are fundamental characteristics of his personality.<sup>12</sup> (Bernal Medina 1961, Introduction)

Bernal Medina also explains that the ideological motivation behind the creation of this text was to give future generations a connection to the greatness of their heritage, which was “bequeathed to us by the genius of Simón Bolívar” (Bernal Medina 1961, Introduction). Though this book was published in 1949 in Colombia, the language continues to resonate with communities and organizations working to preserve the legacy of Simón Bolívar. Furthermore, it seems appropriate to note that this book is also prefaced by an enthusiastic endorsement from the Bolivarian Society of Colombia (*Sociedad Bolivariana de Colombia*), which still exists today (Sociedad 2011).

## **THE SIGNIFICANCE OF BOLÍVAR IN CONTEMPORARY CULTURE**

Bolívar’s name and image are so frequently reproduced throughout Latin America that it is quite possible that it goes unrecognized, unacknowledged, or ignored, because people are immune or indifferent—especially in the former Republic of Colombia (Colombia, Ecuador and Venezuela). Figure 2.1 shows two examples of how Bolívar is portrayed today in South America. “Bolívar” as a word can be found on the names of the most prominent streets in almost every town in South America, many in Central America and frequently in North America. The same can be said of the most prominent plazas, especially in South America, as few cities are without a “Plaza Bolívar.” Of course Upper Perú would be renamed Bolivia in honor of Bolívar in 1825, and the Republic of

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<sup>12</sup> “De aquí que para seguir su ‘ruta geográfica’ sea preciso conocer y comprender su ‘ruta espiritual’. Puede decirse que su itinerario se realice en función de su doctrina. Este paralelismo explica por qué el Libertador es ante todo *pensador* y *guerrero*, las dos características fundamentales de su personalidad.” (Translated by author)

Venezuela would be renamed The Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela in 1998 in homage to the so-called “Bolivarian Revolution” declared by Hugo Chavez and his supporters. Figure 2.2 shows an example of the veneration of Bolívar in Venezuela. Furthermore, not only is Bolívar’s image printed on coins and currency in Bolivia, Colombia and Venezuela, but Venezuela’s official unit of currency is called a “Bolívar,” and Bolivia’s the “Boliviano.”



Figure 2.1 Images of Bolívar in contemporary culture  
Left: A poster announcing a play called “Bolívar: fragments of a dream” (Bolívar: Fragmentos de un sueño) in Bogotá, Colombia; July 2010. Right: A magazine cover, describing an article about the “Simón Bolívar: Liberator of five nations” (Libertador de cinco naciones), published in Quito, Ecuador; July 2010. (Photos by author)



Figure 2.2 Government-sponsored wall art in Caracas, Venezuela  
The silhouette of Bolívar merged with the outline of South America is the symbol the Venezuelan government created for the bicentennial of the liberation movement led by Simón Bolívar. (Photo by author)

Bolívar's silhouette and bust are instantly recognizable, not only because of their uniformity in pose and posture, but also because of their ubiquity. The aforementioned plazas named after Bolívar often have a prominent sculpture or statue representing *El Libertador*, most often on a horse, and almost always with a sword in hand. Artists continually revive the memory of Bolívar, either as a subject of drama or national identity, or both.

Indeed, there is a tendency to idolize Simon Bolívar as not only ‘The Liberator’ but the ‘father of five nations.’ Perhaps as a consequence of this paternal connection, the story of Bolívar’s life has become a subject of popular culture. In addition to literature, the study of Bolívar’s activities has led to the creation of a *telenovela*-like relationship with one of his lovers, Manuela Sáenz. Sáenz, or “Manuelita” as many chose to call her, met Bolívar several years into the liberation campaign in Quito, Ecuador on June 15, 1822 (J Lynch 2006, 170). Bolívar had arrived to celebrate the defeat of the Spanish in the Presidency of Quito (present-day Ecuador) in the Battle of Pichincha, which was led by his esteemed General Jose Antonio de Sucre. As he made his way into the city center, it is said he saw Sáenz on a balcony as she threw a laurel in his direction. Figure 2.3, below, shows a plaque—mounted on the side of a building in the historic center of Quito—commemorating the first encounter between Bolívar and Sáenz.



Figure 2.3 Plaque where Manuela and Bolívar first met  
Calle Chile near Calle Venezuela in Quito, Ecuador: “From this place the heroine Manuela Sáenz greeted Bolívar with a laurel crown on the 16<sup>th</sup> of June 1822”. (Photo and translation by author)

Despite being married to an English merchant, Sáenz pursued Bolívar without hesitation. For Bolívar, an affair was nothing out of the ordinary, as he had become well known for his “post-campaign recreation” (J Lynch 2006, 179). However, theirs was more than an affair as from that moment in Quito, until Bolívar’s last days, he and Manuela would share a physical and emotional relationship that seems, as historians portray it, a genuine relationship of friendship, romance and respect.

More recently, Sáenz’s significance in history has been elevated from simply the mistress of Bolívar to *La Libertadora del Libertador* (Liberator of the Liberator) and a pioneer of women’s rights and independence. Perhaps an early feminist, Sáenz served as an officer in Bolívar’s army, worked as a spy among political movements and was considered an intellectual (Murray 2008, 157). Traditionally, her significance in history had been diminished because she was most often referred to as Bolívar’s “mistress,” as if she was compromising Bolívar’s loyalty and integrity. However, it was Sáenz who was married, and Bolívar who was a widower, so the opposite might be said of Bolívar’s intentions with Sáenz.<sup>13</sup> But Sáenz’s relationship with Bolívar transcends any discussion of appropriateness as her loyalty to Bolívar, and prominence as an early female leader, continue to be the focus of a historical and cultural narrative in Colombia, Ecuador and Venezuela. Even in 2010, interpretations of the relationship between Bolívar and Sáenz could be found in prominent locations in Colombia, Ecuador and Venezuela (Figure 2.4, below).

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<sup>13</sup> From a conversation with Ana María Álvarez, director of the Casa Museo Manuela Sáenz in Quito, Ecuador, July 24, 2010.

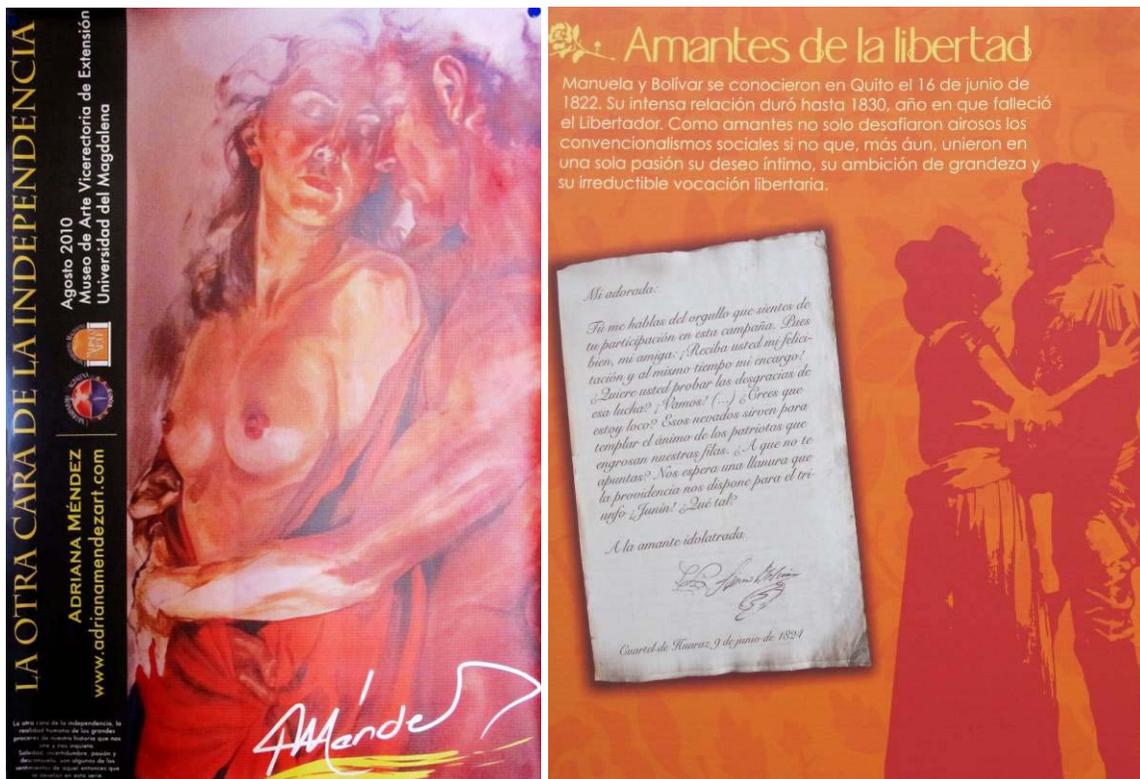


Figure 2.4 Contemporary Images of Bolívar and Sáenz  
 Left: A poster announcing the an art exhibit called “The Other Side of Independence” (*La Otra Cara de la Independencia*) by Colombian artist Adriana Méndez, in Santa Marta Colombia, August 2010. Right: Part of an exhibit displayed in both the Plaza Grande in Quito in June 2010, and Plaza Bolívar in Caracas in August 2010, titled “Lovers of liberty.”  
 (Photos and translation by author)

As an enduring symbol of her significance as the *Libertadora del Libertador*, and perhaps a symbolic union of contemporary political ties between Ecuador and Venezuela, a box of soil—from the area where Sáenz died in Perú—was given to the government of Venezuela by the government of Ecuador on July 5, 2010. The box of soil was mounted a few meters from Bolívar’s tomb at the national pantheon in Caracas, Venezuela (Figure 2.5, below).



Figure 2.5 The symbolic remains of Sáenz next to Bolívar's tomb  
A box of soil from the area where Manuela Sáenz died in Paita, Perú was given to the government of Venezuela by the government of Ecuador on July 5, 2010. In the background, under the flag is Simón Bolívar's tomb. (Photo by author)

On July 17, only twelve days after the remains of Manuela Sáenz were enshrined in the national pantheon, Venezuelan officials returned to the same pantheon to exhume the body of Bolívar. At the behest of President Chavez, scientists extracted the remains of Bolívar to conduct DNA tests and X-rays hoping to confirm Chavez's suspicion that

Bolívar did not die of tuberculosis, but was poisoned (Figure 2.6, below) (Padgett 2010).<sup>14</sup>



Figure 2.6 The skeleton of Simón Bolívar  
On July 17, 2010, forensic scientists exhumed the remains of Bolívar  
(Image is a screenshot from a television broadcast of TeleSUR, Venezuela)

It is ironic that even Bolívar’s mortality perpetuates his presence in popular culture and politics. If this was not apparent with the symbolic “reunion” of Manuela Sáenz and Bolívar, then recent exchanges between Venezuela and Colombia are. For example, within a week of being elected president of Colombia, Juan Manuel Santos

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<sup>14</sup> This was not the first time Bolívar’s body had been moved. After he died in Santa Marta, Colombia in December of 1830, he was buried in Santa Marta cathedral. Twelve years later, Venezuelans negotiated the “return” of his remains to his “homeland,” in November of 1842, where he was buried in the Caracas cathedral and moved to the National Pantheon in 1876. In 1972, Venezuelan vice-president, Elías Jaua, opened the tomb while President Rafael Caldera changed the flag in a private ceremony (J Lynch 2006, 279).

hosted Venezuelan President Hugo Chavez in an unprecedented summit between the two countries on August 10, 2010. The summit was called to resolve recent tensions between the two countries. However, it is no coincidence that the chosen location of that summit was the hacienda where Simon Bolívar died in 1830, called San Pedro Alejandrino in Santa Marta. Not only were Presidents Chavez and Santos holding meetings a few meters from the room where Bolívar died, but almost all media coverage of the event included descriptions and photographs, which always included Simon Bolívar; and in photographs, Bolívar's portrait was almost always positioned between the two presidents (Figure 2.7, below).



Figure 2.7 Presidents Hugo Chavez and Juan Manuel Santos with the Image of Simón Bolívar conspicuously between them (Image from *El Tiempo*, August 11, 2010)

The location and imagery of the summit appear to be a deliberate effort to demonstrate the importance of these countries' common heritage. The more subtle interpretations of the location and imagery suggest that these countries are not only bound by a common heritage, but perhaps are rivals for a common heritage. This summit

was held to address certain political tension that arose after Alvaro Uribe, Colombia's outgoing president, claimed on July 22 that the Venezuelan government was providing support to revolutionary guerrillas, whose violent presence has plagued and defined Colombia for 30 years. While this claim has been around for years, this specific statement exacerbated tensions because it was broadcast to the international community by President Uribe in the offices of the Organization of American States (OAS) in Washington, D.C. This announcement was interpreted as forceful diplomatic accusation that Venezuela vehemently denounced, and then proceeded to cut diplomatic relations between the two countries. President Chavez even mentioned the possibility of war if Venezuela's autonomy was not respected.<sup>15</sup> The summit—held three weeks later, between Chavez and Santos—normalized diplomatic relations between Venezuela and Colombia.

When I visited the OAS offices a month later, I was surprised to see that among the dozens of busts and sculptures, the most prominent ones were of none other than Simon Bolívar, *El Libertador* (Figure 2.8, below). Bolívar's conspicuous presence in the Organization of American States' offices in Washington D.C. might not only be because he was the celebrated liberator, but also due to his grand vision of a unified America. The OAS is perhaps the most representative symbol of that vision.

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<sup>15</sup> Though much of this situation was interpreted as political theater, the claim for autonomy was not an entirely unreasonable. For example, in March of 2008, Colombian military forces attacked a FARC (guerrilla fighters) camp based in the in Ecuador, killing 22 people, including a “leader” of FARC. Though the camp was in a very remote part of the Ecuadorian Amazon basin, the Ecuadorian government was very offended by the violation of national autonomy, who severed diplomatic relations until July of 2010 when President Santos gave the Ecuadorian government the computer hard drives seized in the invasion, which purportedly had incriminating evidence about the Ecuadorian government.



Figure 2.8 Sculptures of Bolívar at the OAS offices in Washington, DC (Photos by author)

## NATIONAL IDENTITY AND NATION-BUILDING

While it seems Simon Bolívar spent much of his life leading physically brutal battles against the Spanish, historians are amazed at his dedication to leading a philosophical and intellectual battle against all colonialism. In addition to being a voracious reader of philosophy and political science, Bolívar wrote many manifestos that would be published in prominent periodicals of the time. These included “The Cartagena Manifesto” of 1812, “The Jamaica Letter” of 1815, “The Angostura Address” of 1819 and the “Message to the Convention of Ocaña” in 1828. All of these would be received by wide audiences, not only in South America, but in North America and Europe as well. He would also write the “Bolivarian Constitution” in 1826 (Bushnell 2003b).

Scholars have found that Bolívar’s views, which were published over the course of 20 years, were steadfast and consistent, especially his views of how Latin America “should be governed—or perhaps above all, how it should not be governed” (Bushnell 2003b, xxxvii). While Bolívar was skeptical of—if not opposed to—the federalist example of the United States (Bushnell 2003b, xxxviii), he always maintained that the newly liberated continent would be much better united than divided (Bushnell 2003b, xli). This view, which he held until his death, would be the source of much resistance and agitation among the regions. Regardless of their historical and current disagreements, the countries liberated by Simón Bolívar celebrate their shared heritage, although each generation and each country expresses their appreciation uniquely.

Hugo Chavez, president of Venezuela, regularly evokes the memory of Bolívar in speeches and writings, either directly quoting something Bolívar said; or indirectly, by mentioning the “Bolivarian Revolution” that he is leading in Venezuela. With the petroleum alms offered by Chavez, other countries in the region have followed suit, joining the *Alianza Bolivariana para los Pueblos de Nuestra América* (ALBA –

Bolivarian Alliance for the Peoples of Our America), which was founded in 2001 and has ten member nations, including Antigua and Barbuda, Bolivia, Cuba, Dominica, Ecuador, Nicaragua, Saint Vincent and the Grenadines and Venezuela. ALBA nations are in the process of introducing a new regional currency, called the SUCRE (*Sistema Único de Compensación Regional* – Unified System for Regional Compensation) (ALBA). The name for this new currency is more than just an acronym: “Sucre” was the surname of Bolívar’s favored lieutenant, José Antonio de Sucre.

Perhaps this is an extension of what historians call the “Cult of Bolívar” (J Lynch 2006, 299). Although in Bolívar’s lifetime he had his opponents and detractors, history has been more favorable to those who supported him during his lifetime, and since. Of the generation that followed Bolívar, historian John Lynch said:

Now there were the Bolivarians—historians, journalists, priests, politicians and presidents—who created and guarded a cult around an idealized Bolívar, who served the needs of an abject people. The cultists had a good story. A hero of pure Venezuelan lineage, after a tragic marriage and golden youth in Europe, assumes the leadership of national independence, provides the intellectual base of a continental revolution ... There were many Bolívares here, with any of whom people could identify. Venezuelan nationalist, American hero, macho male, Bolívar conformed to the roles. (J Lynch 2006, 301)

“Bolivarians” today come in many forms: there are those who use his ideology as a guide for the future; there are those who embrace his memory as part of their identity; and there are those who wish to draw on his legacy to construct common, unique heritage. The next chapter discusses the origins of the *Ruta del Libertador* in Ecuador and Venezuela and the *Ruta Libertadora* in Colombia, discusses their role in the reproduction of the legacy of Bolívar, and outlines their significance as unique forms of cultural heritage tourism. However, as the images in Figure 2.9, below, suggest, representations

of Simón Bolívar in Colombia, Ecuador and Venezuela appear in many forms, and are not without controversy. Whether an artist paints an interpretation of Bolívar's life, or the president orders his body exhumed, or a tourist visits places where he made history, the legacy of Bolívar continues to evoke feelings of pride and ambivalence among the people who share his heritage.

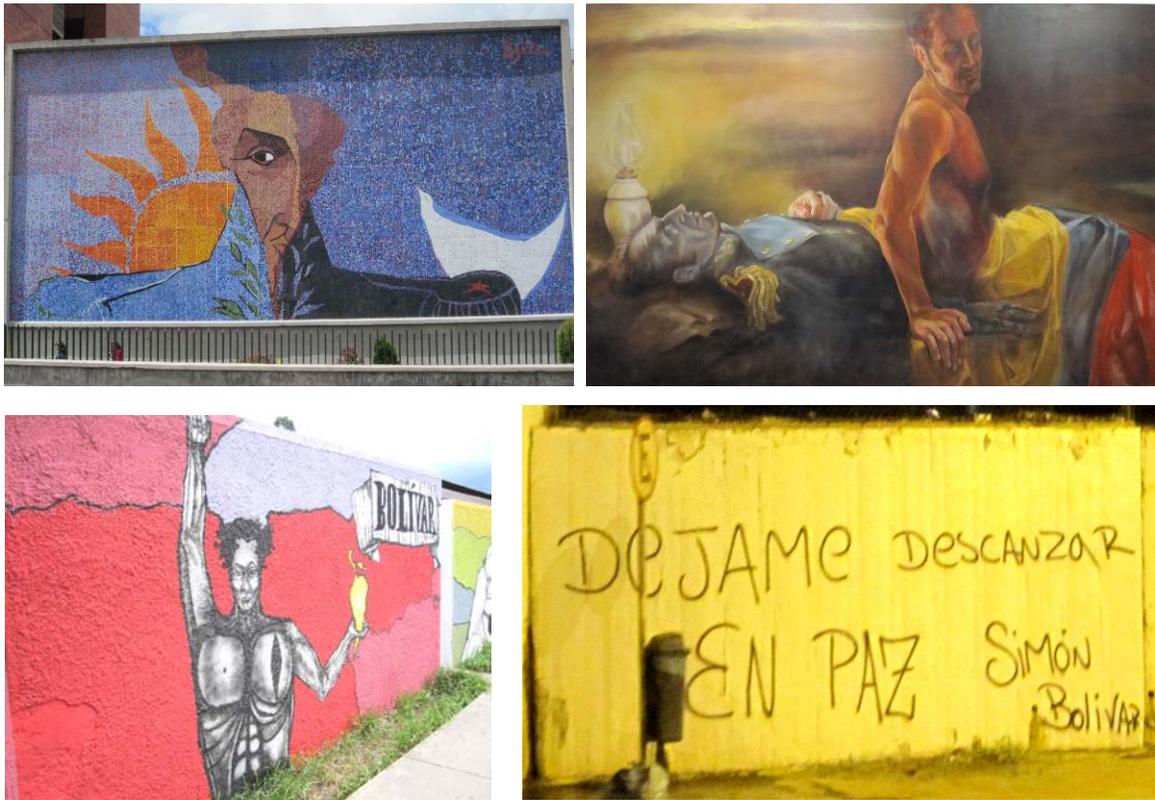


Figure 2.9 Imagery of Bolívar in Colombia, Ecuador and Venezuela

Top left: A large mural of with the face of Bolívar superimposed over the outline of South America, Universidad Andina Simón Bolívar; Quito, Ecuador; June 2010.

Top right: A painting called “To be eternal is to have been” showing the spirit of Bolívar rising out of his body, by Colombian artist Adriana Méndez, in exhibit called “The Other Side of Independence” (*La Otra Cara de la Independencia*) in Santa Marta, Colombia; August 2010.

Bottom left: A mural of Bolívar with his heart sliced open and the outline of South America piercing through his left hand; Caracas, Venezuela; July 2010.

Bottom right: “*Let me rest in peace –Simón Bolívar*” painted on the walls after the body of Bolívar was exhumed in July 2010; Caracas, Venezuela. (Photos by author)

### Chapter Three: One Heritage, Two Routes

Even before his death in 1830, the story of Simón Bolívar was being re-interpreted and re-told. After leading the liberation of much of South America from Spain, Bolívar struggled—as president and dictator—to maintain his grand vision of a united South America. As his vision fragmented into new countries (Venezuela, Ecuador, Perú and Bolivia) these new countries would struggle to define their identities, often demonizing or glorifying the efforts of Bolívar.

Despite the countless historical interpretations of the liberation, even today we find ambivalent interpretations of Bolívar from countries that claim his legacy as heritage. Even the most straightforward of celebrations can be misinterpreted. For example, the year 2010 was an important moment for many Latin American countries: 200 years had passed since the fight for independence from Spain began in 1810. Yet, the way the occasion was portrayed across Colombia, Ecuador and Venezuela suggested that 2010 was in fact the bicentennial of South American independence (Figure 3.1).



Figure 3.1 Bicentennial Iconography  
From left to right: Colombia, Ecuador and Venezuela

In fact, December of 1810 was the year Francisco de Miranda—accompanied by Bolívar—led the first battle for independence, which led to the creation of a short-lived republic, from July 5, 1811 to July 31, 1812. There was another short-lived independent republic from 1813 to 1814. The official “liberation” didn’t come until 1819 with the Battle of Boyocá and the inauguration of the Congress of Angostura. Therefore, 2010 does represent 200 years since the liberation effort began, but 2019 will be the true bicentennial of “liberation” from Spain. Perhaps this ambivalence in the interpretation of the history of liberation is reflected most vividly in the two cultural routes dedicated to the memory of Bolívar’s greatest accomplishment: the *Ruta del Libertador* in Ecuador and Venezuela, and the *Ruta Libertadora* in Colombia.

#### ***RUTA DEL LIBERTADOR AND RUTA LIBERTADORA***

In 2009, the governments of Venezuela and Ecuador inaugurated a new touristic travel route based on their common heritage: gaining independence from Spain almost 200 years earlier. This route, called the *Ruta del Libertador* (Route of the Liberator), was established to revive an authentic memory of Simón Bolívar and “the paths walked by our liberators” (Ruta 1a). Also in 2009, the government of Colombia inaugurated a *Ruta Libertadora* (The Liberator Route<sup>16</sup>) with the purpose of “promoting the places where the Liberator Simón Bolívar passed” (Ruta 2a; Ruta 2b). Though all three countries share this common heritage, the routes were established separately and independently in Ecuador, Colombia and Venezuela.

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<sup>16</sup> *Ruta Libertadora* may also be translated as “Liberation Route.” The implications of both translations are discussed later in this chapter.

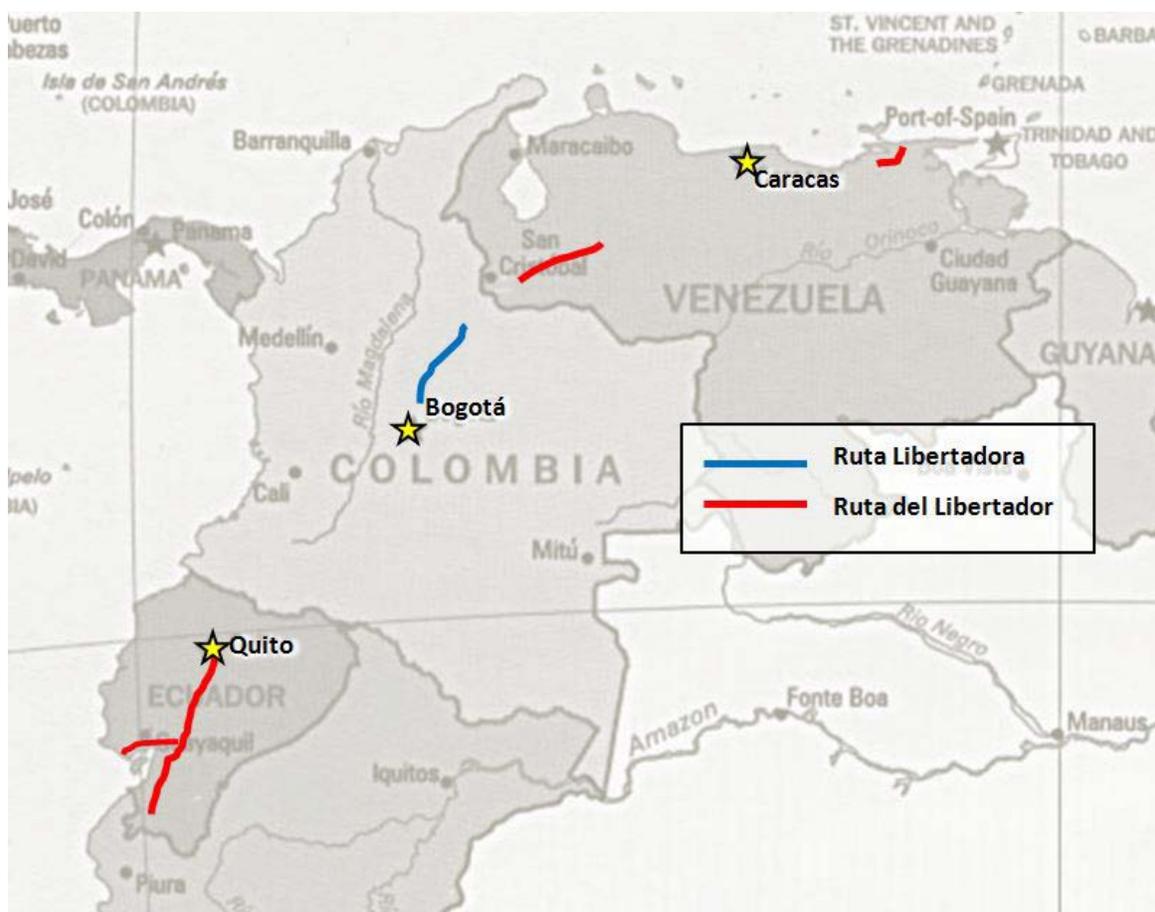


Figure 3.2 Map of the *Ruta del Libertador* and *Ruta Libertadora*  
 (Image by author)

While the two routes celebrate the shared heritage of liberation from Spain, and they were both developed to celebrate the bicentennial of the beginning of the liberation struggle, they take unique approaches in interpreting this heritage and anniversary. The *Ruta del Libertador* in Ecuador and Venezuela focuses on Simón Bolívar as the primary protagonist of the route while using many monuments, sites and events as contributing symbols to the route. In almost perfect juxtaposition, the *Ruta Libertadora* in Colombia focuses on specific monuments and sites while evoking many historical people as contributing to the route, the most prominent being Bolívar. In other words the *Ruta del*

*Libertador* emphasizes a specific person and a wide range of places and events, while the *Ruta Libertadora* emphasizes a wide range of people connected to a very specific place and event. However, both “the liberation,” spanning a period of 16 years (including the liberation of Perú and Bolivia) and “the liberator,” which is Simón Bolívar, are the common themes throughout the routes.

While the names *Ruta del Libertador* (Ecuador and Venezuela) and *Ruta Libertadora* (Colombia) appear to have a subtle semantic difference, the development and implementation of these routes have very different origins and meanings. This chapter will describe the origins of these routes and how they are physically represented and interpreted. Much of this description is from field research in Colombia, Ecuador and Venezuela between May and August 2010, as well as online research between August 2009 and March 2011.

The field research provided a greater understanding of the various contexts that define the routes and their settings, including the historical, cultural, political and physical contexts. I was able to interview officials working on the *Ruta del Libertador* in the Ecuadorian Ministry of Tourism in Quito in May 2010, and the Venezuelan Ministry of Tourism in Caracas in July 2010. In both countries, the technicians working on the *Ruta del Libertador* discussed the origins and progress of the route, and also provided useful documentation about the process of developing an international tourism route (Ruta 1b 2010; Ruta 1c 2010).

I also met with tourism officials working on the *Ruta Libertadora* in the Colombian department of Boyocá, located in the city of Tunja, in August 2010. My meetings there, however, were scheduled poorly (or perfectly) for formal interviews, as I arrived when Tunja was celebrating 451 years since its foundation on August 6, which included a visit of the out-going president Álvaro Uribe. The next day the official 2010

reenactment of the *Ruta Libertadora*—which consist of an entourage of hundreds of military and police officers riding horses—was arriving at its final destination, the Puente de Boyocá.

In the process of traveling through Colombia, Ecuador and Venezuela, I was also able to visit many of the sites along both routes, photographing the sites and collecting documents along the way. Many of the documents were tourism brochures and maps promoting various routes and bicentennial-related sites and celebrations. I also gathered local periodicals, including newspapers and magazines, saving all articles related to regional tourism, cultural routes, international political relations and Simón Bolívar. In many ways, the timing of this research could not have been more opportune since all three countries were celebrating the bicentennial; political conflicts escalated between Colombia and Venezuela, and Colombia and Ecuador; and the image of Simón Bolívar was regularly in the news, if not in response to his recent exhumation, then in the background of international dialogues. All these observations and events greatly informed my understanding of the many contexts through which these routes pass.

### ***RUTA DEL LIBERTADOR* IN ECUADOR AND VENEZUELA**

On July 24, 2009, Ecuadorian President Rafael Correa in Guayaquil and Venezuelan President Hugo Chavez in Caracas simultaneously hosted a ceremony to inaugurate the *Ruta del Libertador* between the two countries (Figure 3.3).<sup>17</sup> The process of establishing the *Ruta del Libertador* had been a couple of years in the making, as discussions about establishing a bi-national tourism agreement date back to April 28, 2007 when a delegation from both countries signed the "Basic Agreement on Technical

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<sup>17</sup> This ceremony was after presidents held a meeting on February 3, 2009 in Cumaná, Venezuela; and after "fifth Ecuador-Venezuela presidential meeting" on May 23 and 24 (R Carreño 2009).

Cooperation between the Government of the Republic of Ecuador and the Government of the Republic of Venezuela" (Ruta 1b 2010, 2). The countries have agreed to dedicate two million dollars to the development of the *Ruta del Libertador* (Turismo 1c), and each have taken on distinct tasks in promoting the route: Venezuela developed an interactive website dedicated to the route and Ecuador developed a set of interpretive materials for tourists to use while visiting places along the route.



Figure 3.3 The inauguration of the *Ruta del Libertador*  
July 24, 2009 in Guayaquil, Ecuador; President Rafael Correa at center.  
(Image source: Ecuadorian Ministry of Tourism)

Upon inauguration, the *Ruta del Libertador* consisted of only 15 specific sites (8 in Ecuador, 7 in Venezuela). In Ecuador, the selected sites represent different

characteristics of Simón Bolívar's personality, including Simón Bolívar "the revolutionary", "the passionate", "the poet", "the strategist", "the friend", "the politician", "the environmentalist" and "the humanist." The details of these "characteristics" will be discussed in more detail later in this chapter. The seven sites in Venezuela are less clearly related to Simón Bolívar: the sites include a house, church and waterfall near the Venezuelan city of Mérida; and another two churches, a museum and a fort in the town of Cumaná. The plan for the *Ruta del Libertador* in Venezuela is expected to expand into eleven more states, for a total of thirteen states with sites that contribute to the route.

According to both the Ecuadorian and Venezuelan ministries of tourism, the purpose of the *Ruta del Libertador* is to highlight the similarities in culture, history, geography and language these two "sister nations" share. The *Ruta del Libertador* was created as a bi-national commitment that emphasizes "the importance of sustainable tourism development as an inclusive activity, allowing the redistribution of wealth, involves communities and small and medium enterprises, promoting a more just, equitable and inclusive means of effective integration of our peoples"(Ruta 1b 2010, 2). The governments of both Ecuador and Venezuela view this route as an important tourist attraction that is "directly or indirectly related to historic steps of Simón Bolívar." The governments also view the route as an important tool for promoting cultural heritage among their people, and also as a means of helping traditionally marginalized populations gain access to tourism resources (Ruta 1b 2010, 2). How those "tourism resources" and "attractions" are chosen and distributed is very different between Ecuador and Venezuela.

### ***Ruta del Libertador in Ecuador***

Since taking office in 2007, Ecuadorian President Rafael Correa has made the topic of national identity development a priority (Presidencia). For example, Correa has overseen the creation of several new culture-related ministries, and a new amendment was added to the Ecuadorian Constitution in 2010, called the *Ley de Cultura* (“Law of Culture”) (Cultura 1a). Among the new or reorganized ministries are the Ministry of Culture, National Institute of Culture, Coordinating Ministry of Heritage<sup>18</sup> (both natural and cultural), Ministry of Tourism, Ministry of Education and Ministry of Sports, among others. Despite all these culture-related ministries, the Ministry of Tourism is developing the *Ruta del Libertador*, with little or no input from these other ministries. Figure 3.4, below, shows the official map of the *Ruta del Libertador* for Ecuador.

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<sup>18</sup> Another example of the President Correa’s enthusiasm for heritage was the national inventory of cultural resources conducted by the Coordinating Ministry, called the “Informe Decreto de Emergencia del Patrimonio Cultural 2008 – 2009”



Figure 3.4 Map of the *Ruta del Libertador* in Ecuador  
 (Image source: Ecuadorian Ministry of Tourism)

According to Ecuador’s Ministry of Tourism, the *Ruta del Libertador* was created to “promote and encourage sustainable, historical and cultural tourism between both nations; stimulate local economies through employment generation and extend the benefits of tourism to populations that have been historically excluded”<sup>19</sup> (Ruta 1b 2010, 3).

It is unclear whether the intention is to make tourism more accessible to people who historically have not been tourists, or make locations more accessible for tourism

<sup>19</sup> Translated by author: “Impulsar y fomentar el turismo sostenible, histórico y cultural entre ambas naciones, dinamizando las economías locales a través de la generación de empleos y del acceso al disfrute de la actividad turística de la población históricamente excluida.”

development. Because tourism has typically been developed as in international import industry, one might assume the latter: that the *Ruta del Libertador* is promoting tourist access to locations that have had limited tourism. But since this route also represents a specific type of tourism development, which is focused on regional identity and interest, the former may be equally important by encouraging locals who have not traditionally been tourists to visit places of national interest. Therefore, the Ministry of Tourism in Ecuador has designed a series of modular kiosks that might appeal to local tourists (see Figure 3.5, below).



Figure 3.5 Conceptual image of a modular kiosk designed for the *Ruta del Libertador*. (Image source: Ecuadorian Ministry of Tourism)

In collaborating with the Venezuelan government—which developed the website dedicated to the *Ruta del Libertador*—the Ecuadorian government developed a series of interpretive materials with the intention of making *Ruta del Libertador* more accessible

and more attractive to tourists. These materials included a passport and stamps, posters, reading materials that accompany each site and storybooks for children.

### ***Ruta del Libertador in Venezuela***

Since taking office in 1999, Venezuelan President, Hugo Chavez has sought to evoke the legacy of Simón Bolívar in countless ways, from renaming the country to the “Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela” to calling his political movement the “Bolivarian Revolution.” Indeed, the *Ruta del Libertador* extends this effort to exploit the legacy of Simón Bolívar.

The Venezuelan motivation for developing the *Ruta del Libertador* is similar to that of Ecuador in that it uses this heritage as a form of tourism and economic development, however, Venezuela also adds another layer of political rhetoric in justifying the route. In an article published in the tourism section of a Venezuelan newspaper from Maracaibo, the *Ruta del Libertador* is introduced as a means of improving political ties among countries in the Bolivarian Alliance for the Peoples of Our America (ALBA)<sup>20</sup> (R Carreño 2009). According to the article, in 2008, 44,000 Venezuelans visited Ecuador, and 35,000 Ecuadorians visited Venezuela. To promote more travel between these countries, the article also mentions that flights between Caracas and Quito will be more frequent and that people visiting the *Ruta del Libertador* will receive discounts (R Carreño 2009).

Upon inauguration, there were only 15 sites officially listed as part of the *Ruta del Libertador*, in only two states, Mérida and Cumaná. Though the official *Ruta del Libertador* website still only reflects the original 15 locations in Venezuela, MINTUR

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<sup>20</sup> ALBA Alianza Bolivariana para los Pueblos de Nuestra América (ALBA – Bolivarian Alliance for the Peoples of Our America) was founded in 2001 and has ten member nations, including Antigua and Barbuda, Bolivia, Cuba, Dominica, Ecuador, Nicaragua, Saint Vincent and the Grenadines and Venezuela.



Despite also having a Ministry of Culture and a National Institute of Cultural Heritage (Cultura 2a; Cultura 2b), the Ministry of Tourism is the agency in charge of investigating, surveying, developing and promoting the *Ruta del Libertador* (Ruta 1c 2010). According to a presentation by MINTUR the *Ruta del Libertador* was inaugurated in 2009 to commemorate 200 years since the beginning of the

definitive and transcendental movement of emancipation of the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela ... [and to] ... rescue/resuscitate and strengthen the collective conscience towards historical events, its protagonists, that determined the birth of our country and others in Latin America, which reaffirms the people's rights of freedom and self determination. (Turismo 2a)

As of July 2010, MINTUR had installed 42 signs: 30 in the state of Mérida and the state of Sucre, with plans to install more in the states of Aragua, Bolívar, Nueva Esparta and around Caracas. These signs are placed in the principal plazas and near already prominent historic monuments. It is unclear, however, whom these signs are targeting, as finding information on the *Ruta del Libertador* while in Mérida was almost impossible. In addition to the several *Ruta del Libertador* signs installed by the national government around the City of Mérida,<sup>21</sup> the government of the State of Mérida is also in the process of developing the statewide segment of a larger route called the *Ruta Bicentennial*. Much like the *Ruta del Libertador* the *Ruta Bicentennial* is being developed to commemorate the bicentennial of the fight for independence, but on a more local level. However, this heritage and tourism project is being directed by the Ministry of Culture and the Ministry of Information and Communication (Bicentenario; Cultura 2a), and being implemented on the local level by Mérida's own tourism office, called the

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<sup>21</sup> The city of Mérida is nicknamed "Ciudad Libertadora" because this is where Simón Bolívar was declared "El Libertador" in 1813.

Merideña Corporation of Tourism (CORMETUR). Figure 3.7, below, shows the types of signs installed by the different tourism offices.



Figure 3.7 *Ruta del Libertador* sign in the main plaza of Mérida, Venezuela next to a sign promoting a more local heritage. (Photo by author)

Venezuela is also charged with developing and maintaining the website for both Ecuador and Venezuela (Appendix A). In part to emphasize the collaborative nature of the route, the website states the route represents a “grannacional” vision (Ruta 1c 2010). “Grannacional” is a concept that is similar to “international” or “transnational,” but in this case it reflects the notion that Ecuador and Venezuela are “nations that share a

similar political ideology”<sup>22</sup>. Therefore the rhetoric behind the *Ruta del Libertador* takes on an air of exclusivity, essentially stating that this route is meant to include nations of like-minded governments, regardless of their heritage. In other words, Colombia would not likely be invited to share this mission. Colombia, however, did not wait for an invitation and instead developed a very similar route of its own.

### ***RUTA LIBERTADORA IN COLOMBIA***

In 2009, the Colombian government inaugurated the *Ruta Libertadora* to celebrate the same event as the *Ruta del Libertador*: 200 years since the beginning of the struggle for independence. The *Ruta Libertadora* is one of four heritage routes called *Rutas Bicentenarias* developed by the Colombian Ministry of Culture. The other three routes are the *Ruta de los Comuneros*, the *Ruta Mutis* and the *Ruta de la Gran Convención*. The *Ruta Libertadora*, however, was implemented not only as a cultural tourism route, but as a cultural heritage route. As discussed in Chapter One, the difference between a cultural tourism route and a cultural heritage route is that a cultural heritage route tends to be more authentic in that it is “discovered;” whereas a cultural tourism route is “created,” sometimes by connecting events that may not be historically connected.

Based on the unlikely campaign that Bolívar led to begin pushing the Spanish out of South America in 1819, called “La Campaña Libertadora” de 1819 (López 2006, 126-130), the *Ruta Libertadora* has been a significant part of South American heritage since that fateful battle. As mentioned in Chapter Two, the “Campaña Libertadora” was “unlikely” because Bolívar marched his army through some of the most rugged terrain in

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<sup>22</sup> Definition of “grannacional” is from the ALBA website: <http://www.alba-tcp.org/contenido/concepto-grannacional>

the region, including sweltering Amazonian swamps and frigid Andean passes. The campaign culminated with a victory at the famous Puente de Boyocá. The bridge, or Puente de Boyocá, has been replicated and is preserved as a national landmark. There is an eternal flame and a large monument with a sculpture of Bolívar near the bridge as well, which are shown in Figure 3.8, below.



Figure 3.8 The Puente de Boyocá opposite the monument of Bolívar  
(Photos by author)

The creation of the *Ruta Libertadora* was the result of collaboration among several government agencies, including the president’s office, the Ministry of Culture, the Ministry of Commerce, Industry and Tourism, the Ministry of National Defense, the Military and the National Police (Cultura 3a). The route is also part of a bicentennial cultural-heritage education campaign called “Por los caminos de La ruta libertadora: Una

historia con futuro” (“Through the paths of liberation route: A history with a future;” translation by author) (Ruta 2c). Because the *Ruta Libertadora* passes through several communities, several of these communities have created their own *Ruta Libertadora* promotional materials including brochures and maps, as shown in Figure 3.9, below.



Figure 3.9 Map of the *Ruta Libertadora*  
 (Image source: Gobernación de Boyoca, Ruta 2d)

In a preliminary assessment developed by the ministry of culture called “The First Phase of the Cultural Tourism Route Ruta del Libertador”<sup>23</sup> (Comercio 2 2009), it is not only interesting to find the route being called a “cultural tourism route,” but this specific route being called “Ruta del Libertador.” This report is a survey of the many features of the region being considered for the *Ruta Libertadora*, including the history, geography,

<sup>23</sup> Translated by author from: “Primera Fase de la Ruta de Turismo Cultural Ruta del Libertador”

climate and cultural resources, which would be used to inform an elaborate tourism package that would enable “tourists” to travel the route with ease.

However, this information also helped a larger, more official reenactment to take place, once in 2009 and similarly in 2010. Between July 20 and August 7, 2010, 150 horseback riders from the army and 150 from the national police, and dozens of walkers followed the route for 19 days from Pore to 24 towns in the “departments” of Arauca, Casanare, and Boyocá. The journey also included a reenactment of the battle of Boyocá. The report proposes that every municipality along the route create some kind of cultural exposition, because, as a television commercial for the *Ruta Libertadora* explains, “this commemoration will convert into a motor of development for these communities” (Cultura 3c, 5:26). This advertisement also suggests this will be an opportunity for economic development.

Because of its emphasis on the reenactment of a single event, the *Ruta Libertadora* appears to be more of a cultural heritage route than a cultural tourism route. Also, the brochures and press releases related to the *Ruta Libertadora* mention little about the economic benefits of this tourist route, instead focusing on the significance of the cultural heritage. However, since much of the project is being led by the Ministry of Commerce, Industry and Tourism, economic development and tourism are, in fact, significant factors motivating the promotion of this route.

## **TANGIBLE AND INTANGIBLE HERITAGE**

Reflecting on the definitions of “cultural routes” and “cultural tourism routes” discussed in Chapter Two, both the *Ruta del Libertador* and the *Ruta Libertadora* can both be considered “cultural routes” because, to use ICOMOS language, there are very “tangible elements of which the cultural significance comes from exchanges and a multi-

dimensional dialogue across countries or regions” (A Carreño 2003). In other words, many physical monuments remain where events related to the independence are intact and preserved for this specific memory.

However, the *Ruta del Libertador* and the *Ruta Libertadora* are can also be considered “tourist routes.” Not only are these projects being developed by the ministries of tourism, but—at least in Ecuador and Venezuela—economic development is one of the specific goals of the projects. This distinction becomes increasingly important when exploring the various ways these routes are interpreted and represented. If the motivation for promoting cultural heritage is purely financial, then the legacy of Simón Bolívar might be misrepresented and, by extension, the country’s heritage may be distorted. Both the *Ruta del Libertador* in Ecuador and Venezuela and the *Ruta Libertadora* in Colombia, have websites that appear to convey very different messages about their shared heritage. The following chapter uses these two websites to compare these virtual interpretations of the legacy of Simón Bolívar.

## Chapter Four: Findings and Analysis

The internet has increasingly become the medium of choice for tourism research, for both consumers and scholars. The way a place is portrayed through the internet can influence decisions, creating perceptions that may or may not be accurate (Choi, Lehto, and Morrison 2007, 120). For tourism and historic preservation researchers alike, the influence of the internet on perceptions of cultural heritage destinations has become an important issue (Choi, Lehto, and Morrison 2007, 120).

In 2009, when Colombia, Ecuador and Venezuela began preparing for their bicentennial celebrations in 2010, press releases were being circulated about the new cultural heritage routes: the *Ruta del Libertador* in Ecuador and Venezuela, and the *Ruta Libertadora* in Colombia. As newspaper and magazine articles published the websites for interested readers to learn more (R Carreño 2009), the websites became the primary medium for gathering information about the details of these new historic routes.

The purpose of this chapter is to continue the discussion about these two routes by comparing and analyzing the content in websites dedicated to the *Ruta del Libertador* and the *Ruta Libertadora*<sup>24</sup>. By comparing the different routes as they are presented through their websites, any contrasting interpretations might demonstrate how cultural heritage can be used to promote a specific political bias or agenda. This analysis will also refine the definitions that explain the difference between a “cultural heritage route” and a “cultural tourism route,” and also build upon the definitions of “authenticity” and “staged authenticity” (MacCannell 1973), which has been a source of debate in the study of tourism since the early 1970s, and for cultural heritage preservation for generations.

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<sup>24</sup> The downloadable file called “programación,” which is a guide to the *Ruta Libertadora*, is considered as part of the website because it is entirely readable and viewable online.

In order to analyze the way the *Ruta del Libertador* and the *Ruta Libertadora* are portrayed, I will compare the content of the two official websites dedicated to each of the routes. The *Ruta del Libertador* website is hosted by the Ministry of Tourism (MINTUR) of the Venezuelan government, which maintains the website for Ecuador as well. The *Ruta Libertadora* is hosted and maintained by the Ministry of Culture of the Colombian government. Each website has approximately 50 pages of content that employs a mixture of visual and verbal approaches to describe these routes.

### **WEBSITE ANALYSIS METHODOLOGY**

This analysis will incorporate some of the methodologies recently developed by researchers investigating how online tourism promotion influences perceived identity (Govers and Go 2004, 74), as practitioners and academics recognize a potentially critical conflict of interest between identity and commerce in cultural heritage tourism (Govers and Go 2004, 75). “In marketing a destination there seems to be a tension between the desire to project imagery that provides an authentic identity of place, but at the same time commoditizes it for tourism consumption”(Govers and Go 2004, 75).

The analysis is separated into four parts: 1. Website Comparison, which discusses the websites’ accessibility, usability and intended audience; 2. Sites selected for inclusion, which describes the specific sites along both routes as they are portrayed through the websites; 3. Determining site values, which uses Christopher Koziol’s Preservation Discourse Matrix (Koziol 2008) to compare how the different sites are portrayed and to determine rationales used for inclusion of the sites; and 4. Heritage Representation, which compares how frequently certain words and images appear in both websites. Ultimately, the goal of this systematic analysis is to determine whether there

are similarities and/or differences in how the two websites represent the legacy of Bolívar.

These approaches were adapted from content analysis methods developed in Theo Van Leeuwen's *Handbook of visual analysis* (Van Leeuwen 2004), Robert Grovers and Frank M. Go's article on "Projected Destination Image Online: Website Content Analysis of Pictures and Text" (Govers and Go 2004), and Phillip Bell's chapter on "Content Analysis of Visual Images" (Bell 2001). This analysis applies Van Leeuwen's methodology of coding and categorizing elements of visual materials to extract the representational meaning in the text and imagery. This is combined with Grover's and Go's methodology for extracting representational data from websites, especially tourism websites that are used to create and promote a sense of identity.

Overall, the dependent variables (what is being explained) will be perception, interpretation, context and connotation; while the independent variables (what does the explaining) will be the website, the historical sites along the routes, and the interpretation of history (adapted from Bell 2001).

## **1. Website Comparison**

### ***Accessibility***

The first obvious difference is that the *Ruta del Libertador* has a dedicated URL, "http://rutralibertador.mintur.gob.ve/index.php", which means that more countries can be added to the route. Some of the original proposals suggest that countries in the ALBA would be invited to participate. This would likely dilute any credibility that the route is adhering to an authentic interpretation of the liberation effort lead by Simón Bolívar.

However, this doesn't seem likely since few governments so adamantly evoke the image and memory of Simón Bolívar as Venezuela.

The *Ruta Libertadora* website is embedded within the Colombian Ministry of Culture website and is presented as one of four Bicentennial Routes (Cultura 3b). This makes it difficult, if not impossible, for the casual tourist to stumble across this information. In fact, a Colombian weekly magazine, *Semana*, developed a more user-friendly website that gives a more accessible synopsis of the meaning and scope of the *Ruta Libertadora* (Ruta 2e).

### ***Usability***

The *Ruta del Libertador* website for Ecuador and Venezuela is designed in such a way that the online “visitor” can experience some of the route. The website is easy to navigate because it follows an intuitive, basic web-page format, with a header, left navigation, right navigation, center content and footer. The *Ruta del Libertador* website attempts to be a one-stop tourism website, with not only the details about the route, but with links to travel agents, hotels, and local providers. However the actual details of the route are limited, and the distances between sites, or the amount of time one might need to visit the entire route, is never mentioned. Furthermore, information from the *Ruta del Libertador* website is not easy to download or print out to be used as a guide.

The *Ruta Libertadora* website for Colombia, however, appears to be designed as a resource for information, rather than a virtual experience. The website is difficult to navigate, with page links that lead to more page links (see Appendix B). The website has a video, a map, a short guide, a long guide and a series of booklets that the virtual “visitor” can see. However, considering much of this information can be downloaded and printed, the awkwardness of navigating this site suggests the website is less an effort to

create a virtual interpretation of the route than a tool for encouraging real-life visits to the sites.

### ***Audience***

The target audience of the *Ruta del Libertador* website includes people of the region. Because the website is only published in Spanish, this region would be Latin America, but more specifically South America (excluding Brazil, Guyana and Suriname), and in particular the countries more directly connected with Simon Bolivar. However, the portable booklets that accompany each site in Ecuador target a very international, multi-ethnic audience, and a wide range of ages. The booklets are written in three languages (Spanish, English and Quechua), and there is a children's version that has a grandfather-like figure explaining the history, which is accompanied by animated, comic-book-like images that interpret what the grandfather-figure is saying to several inquisitive children.

However, the specific audience of the *Ruta Libertadora* website, or even this route as a whole, is difficult to determine. In very general terms, the *Ruta Libertadora* clearly targets Colombian tourists interested in cultural heritage. The downloadable guide details the daily itinerary of the reenactment (which took place in July and August of 2009 and 2010). However, since the route is also designed as a reenactment—in which the “expert” hikers and horseback riders from the army and national police have participated in for two years—it excludes the average tourist because of the narrow window of time when the reenactment takes place, and also the apparent skill requirements. But considering each site along the *Ruta Libertadora* hosts a series of cultural events (including musical performances, dances and theater), the more casual tourist can still participate.

The *Ruta Libertadora* also links to a series of booklets that correspond to each town along the route. This information appears to be for people who would like to visit some or all of the places on their own time (i.e. not participate in the reenactment). A series of tourist packages assembled by travel agencies and the ministry of tourism are available to facilitate shorter trips along the *Ruta Libertadora*.

## **2. Sites selected for inclusion**

In order to get a sense of what types of sites have been included in the *Ruta del Libertador* and *Ruta Libertadora*, a basic content analysis was performed on their respective websites. This analysis was an empirical approach to assess similarities and/or differences between the two routes. This analysis also helped determine whether either route might be more a “cultural route” or a “tourism route.”

Comparing Tables 4.1 and 4.2, we can see how different the site typologies are between the different routes. Eighty-one percent of the sites in the *Ruta Libertadora* were places where Bolívar had been, compared to only 45 percent in the *Ruta del Libertador*. Only 27 percent of the sites on the *Ruta del Libertador* were directly related to the liberation effort, whereas 73 percent of the *Ruta Libertadora* sites were directly connected to the liberation. This finding is reinforced by the fact than only one of the sites of the *Ruta del Libertador* was where a battle took place, whereas 46 percent of the sites along the *Ruta Libertadora* were battle sites.

Table 4.1 Content Analysis Results for the *Ruta del Libertador*

(Ecuador/Venezuela)

45% mention Bolívar had been there.	(10 - Yes, 12 - No)
4% are where a battle took place.	(1 - Yes, 21 - No)
27% are related to the Liberation.	(6 - Yes, 16- No)
32 % were “Discovered” and 68% were “Created.”	(7 - D,15 - C)

Table 4.2 Content Analysis Results for the *Ruta Libertadora*

(Colombia)

81 % mention Bolívar had been there.	(21 - Yes, 5 - No)
46 % are where a battle took place.	(12 - Yes, 14 - No)
73 % are related to the Liberation.	(19 -Yes, 7 - No)
81 % were “Discovered” and 19% were “Created.”	(21 - D, 5 - C)

The bottom row in Tables 4.1 and 4.2 refers back to the discussion in Chapter One about the difference between a “cultural heritage route” and a “cultural tourism route:” a “cultural heritage route” is something that is discovered, while a “cultural tourism route” is something that is created. Therefore I categorized each site along both routes as either “discovered” or “created,” based on whether they were either historically connected, or connected for the purposes of tourism. For example, the *Ruta del Libertador* site in Venezuela called the “Cáscada de la India Carú” is described as a waterfall that was significant to indigenous leaders before the Spanish arrived. Though this site is indeed a form of significant cultural heritage, its inclusion in the *Ruta del Libertador* is more of a “creation,” as opposed to the site a few kilometers away, in Bailadores, where Bolivar inspired many of the men to become volunteers in the liberation army.

Based on this analysis, only 32 percent of the *Ruta del Libertador* was “discovered” to be part of the liberation, compared to 81 percent of the sites included in the *Ruta Libertadora*(see Tables 4.1 and 4.2, above). This analysis alone could lead to the conclusion that the *Ruta del Libertador* is a creation of many historically unrelated sites and therefore a “cultural tourism route,” and the *Ruta Libertadora* connects a series of sites that were discovered to be historically related, making it a “cultural heritage route.

### **3. Determining site values**

To better understand the nature of these two routes, this analysis will employ an adaptation of a Preservation Discourse Matrix (PDM) developed by Christopher Koziol to improve the definitions of preservation and planning (Koziol 2008). Though the PDM was designed more specifically in the context of historic structures in the United States, the values that the matrix proposes can be applied in a much broader, international context, to include cultural heritage tourism.

As shown in Figure 4.1, Koziol juxtaposes the intrinsic value and associational value of heritage, and then bisects those values by their relationship to the market, which is defined as either “market indifferent” or “market oriented” (Koziol 2008, 43). These values are either “associational” based on the value people place on a given heritage, or “intrinsic” because a specific artifact—by being a form of heritage (which can be considered a type of “inheritance”)—is important for certain reasons. These reasons, or values, are divided into different quadrants within the matrix, defined as “populist”, “entrepreneurialist”, “essentialist”, and “privatist” (Koziol 2008, 42). The “populist” is more identity oriented, the “entrepreneurialist” is more symbolically oriented towards preservation and its indirect benefits, the “essentialist” is more objective and curatorial,

and the “privatist” is more oriented towards the market or economic value of the cultural resource.

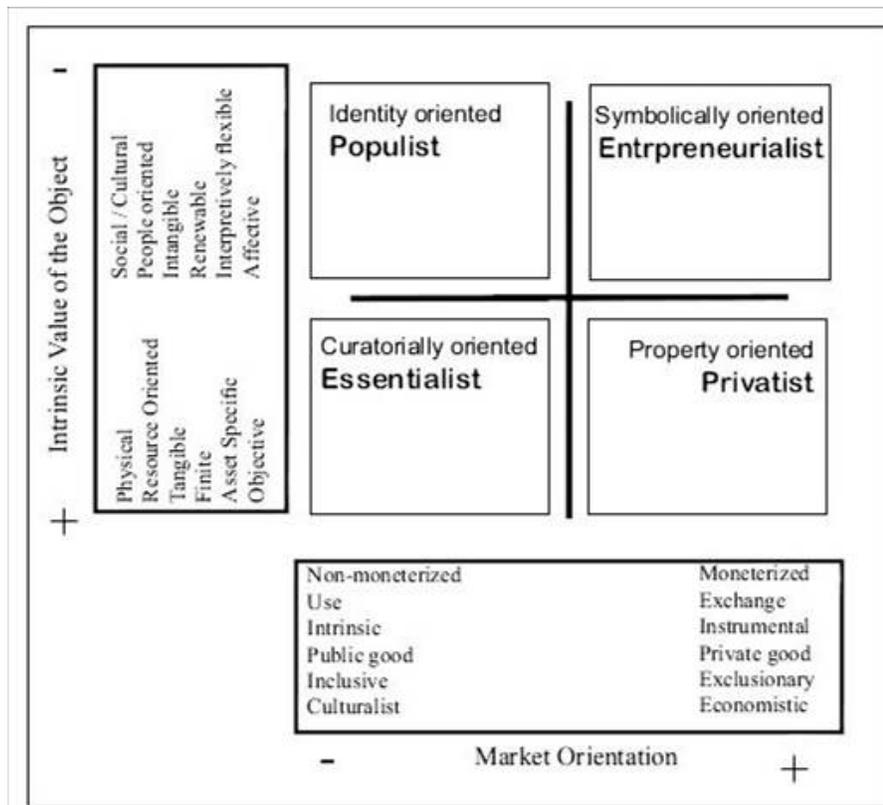


Figure 4.1 Preservation Discourse Matrix  
 The Preservation Discourse Matrix was developed by Christopher Koziol. Source: “Historic Preservation Ideology: A Critical Mapping of the Contemporary Heritage Policy Discourse.” *Preservation Education and Research*. National Council for Preservation Education. Volume 1: 41-50. 2008.

The PDM is especially useful because the values can be separated into different categories that may help better understand why a given heritage is represented in a certain way. It is an important exercise because heritage can be promoted or produced for many different reasons. Since tourism has become one of the largest industries in the world

(Baud and Ypeij 2009; Mowforth and Munt 1998), cultural heritage tourism is an increasingly significant part of that industry (UNWTO 2011a). As a result, the “intrinsic” and “associational” values of cultural heritage become challenged by their economic or market value (Koziol 2008, 43). In other words, all types of heritage are not created, or discovered, for the same reasons, and the PDM helps identify those different reasons.

In the cases of the *Ruta del Libertador* and the *Ruta Libertadora*, there are several examples in each that demonstrate both intrinsic and associational values. At a glance, both routes seem very similar: both have about two dozen sites that commemorate the liberation from Spain. However, by applying the PDM to each site, and aggregating the results for each route, there is a marked difference between the two routes’ values.

The PDM was applied to both routes by giving each location along the route a value. The value was given by judging the relationship between the market orientation and the intrinsic or associational value. Only the information presented in each of the routes’ websites was used in making this value judgment. For example, the *Ruta del Libertador* in Venezuela lists a site called “La Victoria” in the state of Mérida, which is described as a picturesque place known for its coffee production. However, this site has no apparent connection to either the life of Simón Bolívar or the history of the liberation. Therefore, this site is assigned “privatist” value because there are no apparent “populist” or “essentialist” heritage values here; and without knowing the real reasons why this location was chosen, there are no explicit “entrepreneurialist” values, though it can be difficult to separate “entrepreneurialist” values from “privatist” values (Koziol 2008, 46).

On the other hand, the site in Ibarra, Ecuador included in the *Ruta del Libertador* is said to be the only place where Bolívar directly participated in a battle on Ecuadorian soil. The website description also details several unrelated cultural and natural sites tourists may also visit. The *Ruta del Libertador* in Ecuador ascribes popular “themes” to

each site. In the case of Ibarra, this place represents “Bolívar, The Revolutionary,” which—by highlighting that the battle for independence was fought in Ecuador—appeals to very “populist” values; and by interpreting it near or at the location of the battle, also appeals to the “essentialist” values. Therefore, this site was considered both a “populist” and “essentialist” site. This type of qualitative judgment was applied to each of the sites on both of the routes; 22 sites in the *Ruta del Libertador* and 26 sites in the *Ruta Libertadora* (Figures 4.2 and 4.3, below).

The results shown in Figures 4.2 and 4.3 were obtained by dividing the sum of each orientation value (for example the sum of all the “populist” sites) by the total number of sites along the route, which shows what percentage of the sites share that orientation value. For example, as Figure 4.2 shows, 71 percent of the *Ruta del Libertador* sites in Ecuador and Venezuela are “populist” oriented, 50 percent of the sites are “entrepreneurialist” oriented, 9 percent of the sites are “essentialist” oriented and 31 percent of the sites are “privatist” oriented. This gives the *Ruta del Libertador* a more “populist” and “entrepreneurialist” orientation, which suggests that sites along the route are more concerned with identity and general profit, than authenticity or individual gain. On the other hand, as Figure 4.3 demonstrates, the sites along the *Ruta Libertadora* in Colombia are 80 percent “populist” oriented, 15 percent “entrepreneurialist” oriented, 46 percent “essentialist” oriented and 8 percent “privatist” oriented. This suggests that sites in Colombia are more likely to be included for their contribution to national identity and to preserve the authenticity of the heritage, than for reasons of financial gain.

<b><i>Ruta del Libertador</i></b> <b>(22 Sites in Ecuador and Venezuela)</b>	
72% Populist (16 - Po)	50% Entrepreneurialist (11- En)
9% Essentialist (2 - Es)	31% Privatist (7 - Pr)

Figure 4.2 PDM Results for the *Ruta del Libertador*  
 The results, above, show many of the sites fall under the “populist” category, and half have “entrepreneurialist” orientations. Less of the sites are “privatist” and very few are “essentialist” oriented.

<b><i>Ruta Libertadora</i></b> <b>(26 Sites in Colombia)</b>	
80% Populist (21 - Po)	15% Entrepreneurialist (4 - En)
46% Essentialist (12 - Es)	8% Privatist (2 - Pr)

Figure 4.3 PDM Results for the *Ruta Libertadora*  
 The results also show a high “populist” tendency, while, in contrast to the *Ruta del Libertador*, almost half of the sites tend to be more “essentialist” oriented. The low “entrepreneurialist” and “privatist” results also contrast the *Ruta del Libertador* (The results in their entirety can be found in Appendix D).

In other words, the *Ruta del Libertador* has a much stronger “entrepreneurialist” orientation than the *Ruta Libertadora*, seeking “to realize a gain not from direct property ownership but from using peoples’ associations to heritage for economic gain” (Koziol

2008, 46). Instead, the Colombian website reflects a much stronger “essentialist” orientation, which suggests a view of heritage as “autonomous from the production and reproduction of identity, power and society” (Koziol 2008, 44). In other words, the *Ruta Libertadora* appears to be more concerned with authentic interpretation than economic development potential of heritage.

These “orientations” are not conclusive, but merely suggestive of the different approaches in creating cultural routes, which also may be explained by the fact one is administered by ministries of tourism, and the other is administered by a ministry of culture. However, this discrepancy is also very openly communicated, as one of the principal goals of the *Ruta del Libertador* between Ecuador and Venezuela is clearly economic development, while this appears to be a secondary goal of the *Ruta Libertadora* in Colombia.

Using website content to draw conclusions about places with varying histories and complex meanings is severely limiting. However, as a basic coding system and a matrix to organize reoccurring themes, the representation of the two routes using the Preservation Discourse Matrix reaffirms the differences between cultural tourism routes and cultural heritage routes. The *Ruta del Libertador* in Ecuador and Venezuela, being more “populist” and “entrepreneurialist,” better fits the definition of a cultural tourism route because many of the sites along the route are “created” to form a linear route. The *Ruta Libertadora* in Colombia, being more “populist” and “essentialist,” better fits the definition of a cultural heritage route, because many of the sites were “discovered” in their linear form. In other words, the *Ruta Libertadora* follows the sequence of a path that is closer to the location and manner that Bolívar and his troops traveled than the *Ruta del Libertador*.

## 4. Heritage Representation

### *Text Frequency Analysis*

The prevalence of websites as primary sources of information has created a body of research that focuses on website content (Choi, Lehto, and Morrison 2007). Much of this research involves large samples and many variables, often requiring robust data and text mining software to aid in the statistical comparison of numerous websites. However, in this case attempts to use website “mining” programs were insufficient because much of the text in these websites is flattened into images. In other words, computer software cannot read the text. A possible way of overcoming this would be to convert the images into portable document files (PDF) and run Optical Character Recognition (OCR) to make the text recognizable, and then count the number of times a given word appears. Because of these limitations, the *Ruta del Libertador* and *Ruta Libertadora* websites were manually searched for five words, which—if interpreting history only through these websites—are the names of the most prominent historical figures of the liberation: “Bolívar”, “Libertador”, “Santander”, “Sucre” and “Sáenz.” These names were chosen based on their prevalence in the materials I gathered during my field research, and my understanding of the key roles of these individuals during the time period celebrated by the bicentennial.

Table 4.3, below, juxtaposes the results of this search, showing that “Bolívar” and “Libertador” are used with comparable frequency. The other names, perhaps, reveal a nationalistic bias that both routes portray. “Sucre” is mentioned four times in the Venezuelan/Ecuadorian site because José Antonio de Sucre, who was born in Venezuela, was Bolívar’s favorite lieutenant, and favored as Bolívar’s successor, but was assassinated in Colombia as he rode his horse back to Ecuador. “Sáenz” refers to Manuela Sáenz, from Ecuador, who became Bolívar’s lover and companion, and a figure

of significant influence by her own right. The fact that they are both mentioned in the *Ruta del Libertador* website reinforces not only their significance in history, but also the ties between Ecuador and Venezuela.

“Santander,” however, refers to Francisco de Paula Santander from Colombia, who was Bolívar’s second vice-president and an important ally in the fight against the Spanish. Santander was also the first president of Colombia after Gran Colombia separated into three countries (Colombia, Ecuador and Venezuela), and historians dispute whether or not Santander aided in both the assassination of Sucre, and one of several failed assassination attempts on Bolívar. The fact that the Colombian *Ruta Libertadora* mentions Santander seven times and the *Ruta del Libertador* does not refer to Santander at all, also speaks to a nationalistic identity that is exclusive of Ecuador and Venezuela.

Table 4.3 Text Frequency Results

Searched terms	<i>Ruta del Libertador</i> (Ecuador/Venezuela)	<i>Ruta Libertadora</i> (Colombia)
“Bolívar”	25	22
“Bolívar” as a place or thing*	2	5
“Libertador”	20	15
"Santander"	0	7
"Sucre"	8	0
"Sáenz"	4	0

\*(eg. Plaza Bolívar, Departamento Bolívar, Colegio Bolívar)

Perhaps equally important as the words used on websites, are the words websites *do not* mention. The fact the *Ruta del Libertador* website never mentions the word “Colombia,” and the *Ruta Libertadora* website never mentions neither “Ecuador” nor “Venezuela” reveals perhaps a more compelling bias between the routes, which might have more to do with current political narratives than historical ones.

This fact reinforces the suggestion derived from the Preservation Discourse Matrix that a vast majority of the sites along both routes are highly “populist,” i.e. more oriented towards promoting national identity. The tendency for a government to focus on national heroes in order to foment national identity seems natural, especially during bicentennial celebrations. However, it also seems natural to raise questions when the same history and anniversary are being celebrated simultaneously by neighboring countries, and there is no apparent effort to reveal, much less share, that connection. After all, historians have shown that Bolívar’s intention was the liberation the whole region so it might be unified. But historians have also shown how short-lived that unity was. In fact, it could be argued that disunity is just as much a part of the heritage of these three countries as the liberation.

### ***Image Analysis***

The promotional materials for both routes are full of images of places, monuments and sites that can be seen along the routes. These images can be analyzed for their denotative meaning, “what is being depicted,” and connotative meaning, “what ideas and values are being expressed through this representation” (Van Leeuwen 2001, 94). This type of interpretation can be accomplished through an empirical analysis of image “connotators” (Van Leeuwen 2001, 100) to determine an implicit or explicit meaning.

In order to view all the images in each website, each webpage was captured as an image by using the screenshot tool. There were 60 different web pages in the *Ruta del Libertador* website, with images representing a wide variety of places and settings in Ecuador and Venezuela. The *Ruta Libertadora* had 48 web pages with images representing the places along the route in Colombia. With the ability to easily navigate all

the web pages, the images within the web pages were categorized based on the frequency in which they appeared. For example the *Ruta del Libertadora* web page dedicated to Ibarra, Ecuador, shows one image of a group of indigenous women dancing, and two images that show views of the surrounding landscape. These were then categorized as “people, of indigenous origin” and “landscapes, with bodies of water” and “landscapes, with mountains.” A copy of this web page can be found on the third page of Appendix A. Another example in the *Ruta Libertadora* web page is the cover page of the itinerary of the reenactment program. This page shows an image of a child, a landscape, a church and a map, which were categorized accordingly. This particular web page is the third page of Appendix B.

This image analysis did not include the logo with Bolivar's image and the image of a map on the header of every web page of the *Ruta del Libertador* website. This analysis also did not include the gallery of images in the *Ruta Libertadora* website, which has many pictures documenting the reenactment, with many images of people, performers and soldiers. And though some images appeared more than once, they were not double counted. The tables below list the most frequent images as they appeared in the *Ruta del Libertador* (4.4) and *Ruta Libertadora* (4.5) websites. Table 4.6 lists the same information side-by-side for comparison.

Table 4.4 Frequency of Images in the *Ruta del Libertador* website

<b>Image Type</b>	<b><i>Ruta del Libertador</i> (Ecuador/Venezuela)</b>
Churches/Temples/Convents	11
Statues, Sculptures or Monuments	10
Landscapes - bodies of water	10
Landscapes - mountains	10
Cityscapes	7
Houses	7
Sculptures of Bolivar	4
Maps	3
Landscapes - other	2
People - Indigenous origin	2
Image of Bolívar	1
People - non-specific	1
Flag	0
Video	0

Table 4.5 Frequency of Images in the *Ruta Libertadora* website

<b>Image Type</b>	<b><i>Ruta Libertadora</i> (Colombia)</b>
Churches/Temples/Convents	27
Cityscapes	11
Houses	9
Statues, Sculptures or Monuments	7
Landscapes - bodies of water	6
Landscapes - mountains	5
Landscapes - other	5
Maps	4
Sculptures of Bolivar	3
People - non-specific	3
Flag	3
People - Indigenous origin	1
Video	1
Image of Bolívar	0

Table 4.6 Frequency of images in both websites

<b>Image Type</b>	<b><i>Ruta del Libertador</i> (Ecuador/Venezuela)</b>	<b><i>Ruta Libertadora</i> (Colombia)</b>
Image of Bolívar	1	0
Sculptures of Bolivar	4	3
Churches/Temples/Convents	11	27
Cityscapes	7	11
Statues, Sculptures or Monuments	10	7
Flag	0	3
Houses	7	9
Landscapes - bodies of water	10	6
Landscapes - mountains	10	5
Landscapes - other	2	5
Maps	3	4
People - Indigenous origin	2	1
People - non-specific	1	3
Video	0	1

One unexpected result of this analysis was the scarcity of images of Simón Bolívar. Considering the common theme and most frequently mentioned name in both websites is Simón Bolívar, it is surprising that neither website seems to exploit that connection. In fact, if summed together into one category, “landscapes” would be the most prominent image in the *Ruta del Libertador* and the second most prominent image of the *Ruta Libertadora*.

Another significant finding was the frequency of church façades among the many web pages. This frequent use of church façades to represent the places where Simón Bolívar led the independence fight against Spain provides an interesting, and ironic, distinction between the denotation and connotation of the images. For example, in many Latin American cities the image of the church is the iconic symbol of the community and one with which many people identify. Therefore the church façade is a natural identifier for many of the places highlighted on both the routes, which is the apparent denotation. However, many of the churches were either built by the Spanish, or rebuilt at the site of

original Spanish churches using Spanish architectural styles and techniques. This is somewhat ironic since the websites are promoting the effort to gain independence from Spain. The same might also be said about the frequency of “cityscape” images, which are all historic colonial centers. However, this criticism might just as easily be dismissed since churches and cityscapes continue to define communities’ identities today.

#### **AN “ENTREPRENEURIALIST” AND AN “ESSENTIALIST” ROUTE**

When compared side by side, the websites dedicated to the *Ruta del Libertador* and the *Ruta Libertadora* appear to be very different; their formats are very different and the way one moves through the website is also different. However, there are many unexpected similarities in their content, in both text and imagery. Religious symbols and natural landscapes are some of the most frequently displayed images in both websites. Church facades and mountain views define the virtual experience for the online visitor. The websites also share a very similar emphasis on using the words “Bolívar” and “Libertador” throughout the websites. Another similarity, as shown through the use of the Preservation Discourse Matrix, is that most of the sites along both the routes emphasize a “populist” orientation, which reinforces the idea that all three countries value their cultural heritage as part of their national identity.

There are also some very distinct differences in their content. The Preservation Discourse Matrix showed a very different secondary orientation, which for the *Ruta del Libertador* was an “entrepreneurialist” orientation, meaning some of the sites were included on the route for reasons other than authentic interpretation, such as economic benefits. The *Ruta Libertadora* tended to have more an “essentialist” orientation by adhering to the historically significant places that were relevant to the route. This analysis

demonstrates the differences not only in the content of the websites, but perhaps also the different approaches found between a cultural route that is created by a ministry of tourism, as is the case of the *Ruta del Libertador* in Ecuador and Venezuela; and a cultural route that is created by a ministry of culture, which is the case for the *Ruta Libertadora* in Colombia.

## Chapter Five: Discussion

One of the fundamental challenges in the study of topics related to Latin America is to define “Latin America” as both a concept and a place. The term Latin America is often defined by either geography or language; however those definitions tend to be very limited if not inaccurate. After all, a geographic definition of “Latin America” has the US/Mexico border as the northernmost extent of “Latin America,” when the reality is that Latin America extends well beyond such borders. The linguistic definition of Latin America has Spanish and Portuguese speaking countries grouped together, but also include Haiti, which is a French-speaking country. If that’s the case, then would that definition not include Quebec and French Guyana?

Perhaps the definition of Latin America is more broadly defined by history and culture than geography and language. Many countries that are understood to be part of Latin America share a parallel, if not a common history. This history, which continues to define the people and places of Latin America, is their cultural heritage. As nations and cultures seek to claim this heritage—which we have defined as a form of “inheritance”—they rely on the resources available to connect them to that heritage; this is often in the form of a text book or a museum. However, as expressions of heritage have evolved so have the resources that connect people to heritage. For example, tourism and the internet—both inclusive and exclusive of each other—have become some of the most accessible resources for connecting people to heritage today.

Cultural heritage tourism and the access to information through the internet have surged in recent decades. In response, the field of cultural heritage preservation has expanded its definitions of cultural heritage to include “cultural routes.” Like any “new” concept, the definition of a “cultural route” has been challenged and refined, attempting

to make a distinction between cultural routes that connects places that are “discovered” as culturally significant, versus routes that connect places that are “created” to make something significant. In other words, there is a difference between cultural routes that preserve a cultural heritage and cultural routes that produce a cultural heritage. The two cultural routes discussed in this paper represent the schism in this definition.

The *Ruta del Libertador* in Ecuador and Venezuela, and the *Ruta Libertadora* in Colombia are two cultural routes based on a very similar heritage that is represented in two similar, but very distinct, approaches. Considering their names, *Ruta del Libertador* and *Ruta Libertadora*, the heritage they are focusing on is clear: the liberation movement led by Simón Bolívar, who is also known as “*El Libertador*.” However, when one explores the purpose of these two routes, even the meaning behind their names becomes slightly nuanced. The phrase *Ruta del Libertador* literally translates as “Route of the Liberator;” thus explicitly focusing on a specific individual, Simón Bolívar, while implicitly including a broad assortment of places associated with Simón Bolívar and his life. The phrase *Ruta Libertadora*, however, can be very specifically understood as either the “Liberator Route” or the “Liberation Route.” It can be argued that “Liberation Route” can include many people or places associated with the “Liberation,” but in the case of the *Ruta Libertadora* in Colombia, the focus is a specific moment in time—the moment when Simón Bolívar and his troops forced the Spanish to retreat, which eventually led to the independence, or liberation, of South America.

The difference between the two routes becomes even more nuanced when one learns that the *Ruta del Libertador* is a project promoted by the Ministries of Tourism in Ecuador and Venezuela, whereas the *Ruta Libertadora* is promoted by the Ministry of Culture in Colombia. Both routes have websites that are easily accessible, which allow people to learn more about this heritage and/or explore the possibility of traveling these

routes. These websites not only provide information about the specific routes, but also communicate how significant this cultural heritage is in representing the national identity of their respective countries. This portrayal of cultural heritage can be used to form an impression of regional identity, as well, because both routes represent a defining moment in Latin American history: the *Ruta del Libertador* and *Ruta Libertadora* represent the critical moment when the “Latin” origins of a colony gave way to the new “American” independent identity.

There are few forms of cultural heritage, and even few “routes,” that embody this fusion of “Latin” and “American” cultures. As mentioned in Chapter Two, the *Camino Real* in Mexico was inscribed to the World Heritage List in 2010. While clearly a significant cultural heritage route of “outstanding and universal,” the *Camino Real* represents the influence of the Spanish in the Americas. And while Spanish culture is undeniably part of “Latin American” identity, this route represents little of the “American” influence, other than the resource-rich land and expendable people.

The *Qhapaq Ñan* (Inca Road) also represents a type of “Latin” and “American” history which will soon be nominated to the World Heritage List as an international cultural heritage route. In contrast to the *Camino Real*, however, the *Qhapaq Ñan* represents more of the “American” identity of “Latin America” because of its focus on pre-Colombian indigenous cultures. However, the collective cultural route of *Ruta del Libertador* and *Ruta Libertadora* can be seen as somewhere in between the *Camino Real* and the *Qhapaq Ñan*: the Spanish origins of Bolívar and his contemporaries represent the “Latin” heritage, while their struggle for independence represents a heritage that is uniquely “American.”

Furthermore, the promotion of the *Ruta del Libertador* and the *Ruta Libertadora* represents a significant shift in the type of tourist that these countries are trying to attract.

The emphasis on national heritage targets national tourists more so than international tourist. The types of destinations along these routes are different from the traditional tourist destinations defined by sun, sea and sand (and sex), which have typically attracted foreign investments and tourists (Mowforth and Munt 1998, 100, 136). The *Ruta del Libertador* and the *Ruta Libertadora* also offer a new dimension to the study of cultural heritage tourism in developing countries because the tourist targeted by these routes is not an international visitor, but a more local tourist. This could be seen as an indirect response to the more traditional forms of international tourism that reinforce the hierarchies of dominance based on international economics. In other words, these routes are not necessarily appealing to the traditionally wealthy European or North American tourist, but the increasingly prosperous and financially stable South American tourist.

As cultural heritage tourism destinations that target more national tourists emerge, the importance of their authenticity becomes increasingly important. This study shows how the representation of heritage, especially through websites, can not only impact the way that heritage is perceived, but the way that heritage forms and conforms to national identity. This study also demonstrates the different ways cultural heritage can be demonstrated. While the primary purpose of both routes appears to be the promotion of national identity, these countries appear to have different motivations for doing so. The *Ruta del Libertador* between Ecuador and Venezuela connects many places that do not share any historical association because the route was created to promote economic development. The focus of *Ruta Libertadora*, however, is on re-creating and preserving a specific heritage. This study does not seek to argue which is more correct, as they are both valid approaches; rather, this study demonstrates the difference between these two routes in terms of representation and authenticity.

This is an important discussion because cultural heritage routes and cultural heritage tourism are concepts that are used to promote national identity, economic development, or both. As both cultural heritage and tourism routes, the *Ruta del Libertador* and the *Ruta Libertadora* together represent a cultural heritage that is a significant and symbolic form of “world heritage.” As the liberator of five nations, the legacy of Simón Bolívar transcends international boundaries and defines the unique character and history of much of Latin America. This level of significance, perhaps “outstanding and universal,” requires the administrators and promoters of the *Ruta del Libertador* and the *Ruta Libertadora* to look beyond the goals and ideals of individual nations, and embrace international preservation standards. Otherwise there is a risk the contested narratives between the *Ruta del Libertador* and *Ruta Libertadora* may be politicized and discredited as illegitimate and unauthentic. This would not only hurt the attempt to honor the legacy of Simón Bolívar, but diminish and polarize efforts to create any form of ‘unity’ among countries in the region, which was Bolívar’s ultimate vision.

# Appendix A

Selected pages from the *Ruta del Libertador* website (Ruta 1a)

The screenshot shows a web browser window with the URL <http://rutaibertador.mintur.gob.ve/queEsLaRuta.php>. The page features a navigation menu on the left with the following items: Principal, Inicio, Misión Visión y Objetivos, Mapas de ubicación, Noticias, Prestadores de Servicios, Un poco de Historia, Personajes de la Historia, Destinos Turísticos, Galerías, and Contacta la Ruta. The main content area is titled "QUÉ ES LA RUTA" and contains the following text:

La Ruta del Libertador es producto turístico, de alto contenido histórico, que enlaza a los pueblos latinoamericanos por los caminos andados por nuestros libertadores, y que busca rescatar la memoria auténtica de la gesta independentista de Simón Bolívar y otros próceres latinos que contribuyeron al nacimiento de los nuevos Estados republicanos en la región.

Esta ruta se inaugura el 24 de julio de 2009, conjuntamente con Ecuador y Venezuela, países hermanos, en ocasión de celebrarse los 226 aniversarios del natalicio de Simón Bolívar, prócer venezolano, Libertador de cinco (5) naciones: Colombia, Ecuador, Bolivia, Perú y Venezuela; y a propósito de la conmemoración de los doscientos años del movimiento inicial y trascendental de la Independencia de los pueblos latinoamericanos, lo que reafirma el derecho de los hombres de América a ser libres.

En Venezuela, los escenarios iniciales de la ruta son Bailadores, estado Mérida y Curumán, estado Sucre, ésta última, tierra natal del Gran Mariscal de Ayacucho, Antonio José de Sucre; mientras que en Ecuador, el recorrido turístico incorpora las provincias de Guayaquil y Loja.

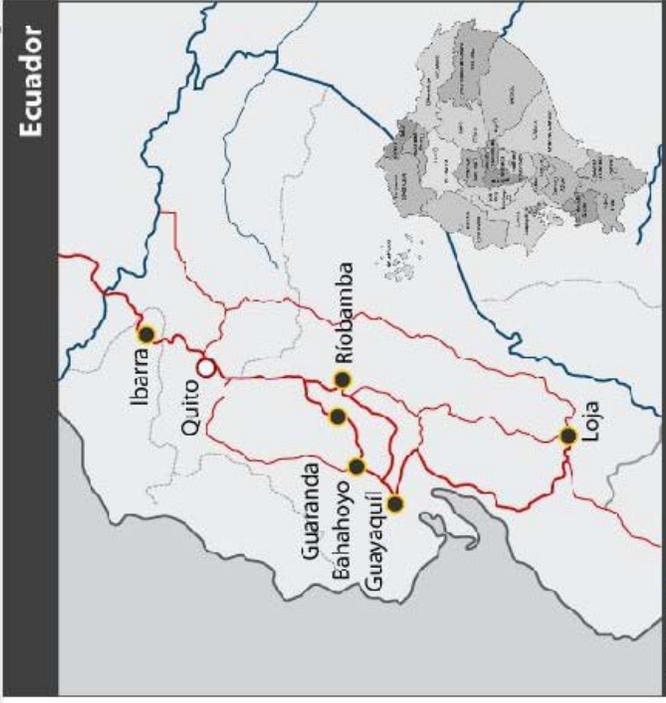
The sidebar on the right contains several sections: "Información Paquetes Turísticos" with a phone icon, "Marca país" with logos for Venezuela and Ecuador, "Enlaces" with logos for INATUR, MINTUR, VOT, and VENETUR, and "Descargas fondos" with an image of a passport and a map.



- Principal
- Misión Visión y Objetivos
- Mapas de ubicación
- Ecuador
- Venezuela
- Noticias
- Prestadores de Servicios
- Un poco de Historia
- Personajes de la Historia
- Destinos Turísticos
- Galerías
- Contacta la Ruta

Regresar

## Ecuador



**Legenda**

- **Vialidad:**
  - Av. Principal
  - Carretera Asfaltada
  - Camino de Tierra
- **Hidrografía:**
  - Ríos
  - Río Principal
- **Centros Poblados:**
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  - Capital del Municipio
  - Puntos Turísticos



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### IBARRA

La única batalla en el Ecuador en la que participa directamente el Libertador es en Ibarra, el 17 de julio de 1823. Ibarra es el primer punto destacado dentro de la Ruta en el Ecuador, pues la valentía del Libertador Bolívar se ve reflejada en esta batalla, que junto a 1500 soldados lucha por la liberación del yugo español. [Leer Mas](#)





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### QUITO

Capital del nuevo estado de Ecuador, es aquí posterior a la batalla de Pichincha que el Libertador conoce a Manuela Saenz. Quito es el punto de encuentro entre Simón Bolívar y Manuela, su corazón no solo busca la libertad, busca el amor y es ella, la conocida como la "Libertadora del Libertador" la que lo cautiva. Siempre buscaban la manera de permanecer mayor tiempo juntos. [Leer Mas](#)



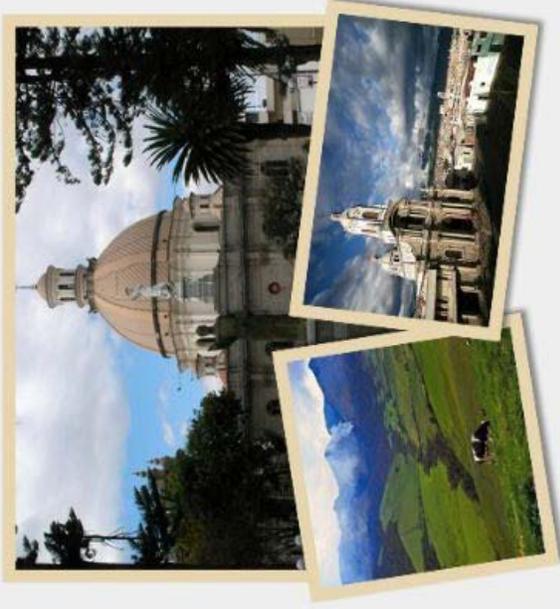


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### RIOBAMBA

El majestuoso Chimborazo lo inspira a escribir su poema "Mi delirio sobre el Chimborazo"  
El amor del Libertador Bolívar por nuestra tierra se ve plasmado en sus letras históricas, y esta tierra generosa del Ecuador tiene el orgullo de haberlo cautivado con su Volcán Chimborazo. En su ascenso al coloso, pudo llegar hasta una enorme roca negra incrustada en la nieve a la que se ha bautizado como la "Piedra de Bolívar". [Leer Mas](#)





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### GUARANDA

Planificando batallas, fortaleciendo la libertad, sitio estratégico para el Libertador en su paso hacia Guayaquil.

Simón Bolívar estuvo por dos ocasiones en Guaranda, el 3 de febrero y el 23 de junio de 1823. Esta ciudad fue estratégica para la protección de Guayaquil porque era considerada como uno de los puntos más importantes para el dominio español en América del Sur. [Leer Mas](#)





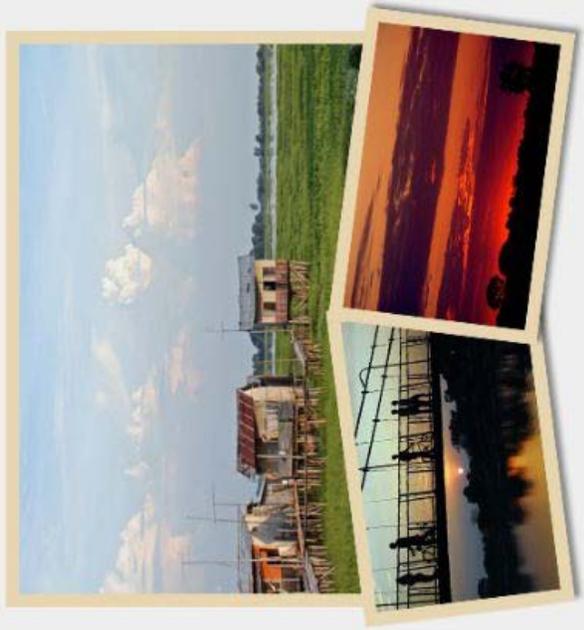
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### BABAHOYO

Bolívar establece sus nexos afectivos con familias de la región, quienes le facilitan sus propiedades para el descanso, la reflexión y el fortalecimiento del espíritu.

La calidez ecuatoriana se destaca en este lugar, donde la gratitud y solidaridad se extiende al Libertador Bolívar, ofreciendo su hospitalidad a este revolucionario quien a más de ser un gran luchador, demostró ser un gran amigo. [Leer Mas](#)





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### GUAYAQUIL

El encuentro de los Libertadores, sellando la anexión de Guayaquil a la Gran Colombia.

¡Viva Guayaquil Independiente! Es la primera frase de Simón Bolívar en su primera visita a Guayaquil el 11 de julio de 1822, qué mejor manera de dar su apoyo a la ciudad pujante a la que llegó a salvar de la espantosa anarquía en que se hallaba. Sus dotes de Político se vieron cristalizados en esta ciudad en su encuentro histórico con el libertador del sur, el General San Martín. [Leer Mas](#)



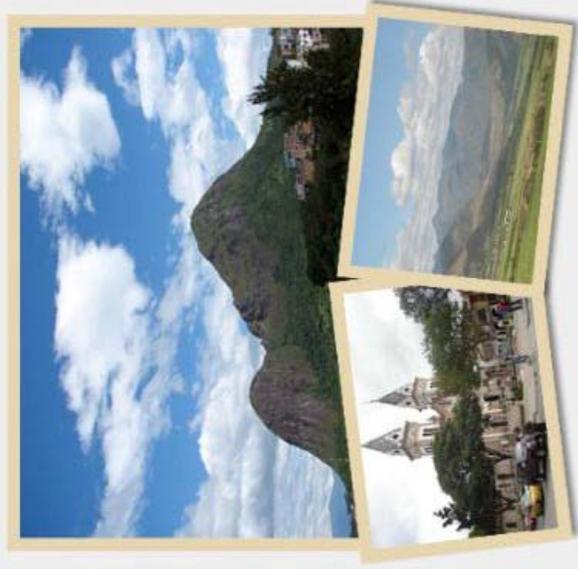


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### LOJA

En Loja el Libertador se preocupa por la educación, creando y decretando leyes a favor de ella, para una sociedad culta. Mientras el Mariscal Sucre le rendía honores a la Virgen de la Merced, Simón Bolívar le rendía honores a la Virgen del Cisne, la Patrona del Turismo del Ecuador. [Leer](#)





**RUTAS DE VENEZUELA**

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**Ruta de Mérida**

Venezuela tiene la suerte de contar con una extremidad de la cordillera de los Andes. Con varios picos que sobrepasan los 4000 metros, los Andes venezolanos, conforman los Caminos de Montaña, ofrecen paisajes y ambientes realmente atractivos. Además ostenta el teleférico más alto y segundo más largo del mundo. Es el mayor centro estudiantil y turístico del occidente venezolano.



**Ruta de Cumaná**

Cumaná es la capital y sede los poderes públicos estatales del Estado Sucre. Está ubicada en la entrada del golfo de Cariaco, junto a la desembocadura del Río Manzanares. Fue la primera ciudad fundada por los españoles en la Tierra Firme del continente Americano. bajo el mando de Gonzalo de Ocampo. Su nombre, en la lengua de sus pobladores, los cumanagotos, significaba unión del mar y del río.

**RUTA DEL Libertador**

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  - Carretera Asfaltada
  - Camino de Tierra
- **Hidrografía:**
  - Ríos
  - Lagos
- **Centros Poblados:**
  - Capital del Estado
  - Capital del Municipio
  - Capital de Parroquia
  - Centros Poblados



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### MÉRIDA. LA CIUDAD DE LOS CABALLEROS

Mérida es una ciudad localizada en el occidente venezolano, que se levanta majestuosa en el valle del río Chama, sobre una amplia terraza denominada La Mesa de Tatuy, lugar que sirvió de asiento a la civilización indígena más antigua del estado Mérida: Tatuy, nombre aborígen que significa ¿lo más antiguo?.

Mérida es la capital del estado Mérida, entidad netamente turística, que presenta una variedad de bellezas naturales, históricas, culturales, religiosas, con un clima cálido y suficientes espacios que invitan a la recreación y esparcimiento.

Es una ciudad con un destino turístico diverso, para el ecoturismo, el turismo científico y de investigación, el turismo familiar, religioso, histórico, cultural y de aventura, entre otros.

Desde una visión histórica, Mérida otorgó por primera vez el título de Libertador al Brigadier de la Unión Simón Bolívar, el 23 de mayo de 1813, nombramiento que se haría oficial en Caracas el 14 de octubre de 1813; además le ofreció a sus hijos para que sirvieran a la causa Republicana.





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### LA LAGUNA DE URAO

Se ubica en la pintoresca población de Lagunillas, a 1.150 metros sobre el nivel del mar (m.s.n.m) y fue declarado monumento natural en el año de 1979. Tiene un cuerpo de agua de 2 Km. de largo, donde se localiza el mineral de Urao (sesquicarbonato de sodio) presente en pocas lagunas del mundo.

Su flora es refugio de una diversidad de especies animales como la garza blanca, el marlín pescador, la gallineta y en sus aguas madran especies ictícolas como el corroncho y la anguila, que hacen de la zona un punto de encuentro para investigadores y turistas amantes de la naturaleza y de los cuentos míticos, como el narrado por Don Tulio Febres Cordero quien en su relato describió:

" las vírgenes del Motatán que sobrevivieron a los bravos tímotes en la defensa de su suelo, congregadas en las cumbres solitarias del Gran Páramo, se sentaron a llorar la ruina de su pueblo y la desventura de su raza. Sus lágrimas corrieron día y noche hacia occidente, en las cercanías de barro formaron una laguna de salobre misteriosa de urao"





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**SECTOR LA VICTORIA**

La Hacienda La Victoria fue una de las más importantes productoras de café en el siglo XIX y tuvo su máximo esplendor entre los años 20 y 30, aunque se mantuvo en actividad hasta inicio de la década del 50, fecha en que Venezuela era el principal productor de café, seguida de Brasil y Colombia; producto que era enviado a Europa y Estados Unidos para las casas Gourmet.

Esta infraestructura tuvo muchos dueños y era una pequeña casa de 420 hectáreas cuando fue adquirida el 9 de agosto de 1922, por Don Calógero Paparoni, quien la transformó en una gran hacienda con 1.600 m2 techados y 2.900 m2 de áreas descubiertas.

En el año 1990 fue adquirida por la Gobernación de Mérida y conserva las características de la época.




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### SECTOR SANTA CRUZ DE MORA

Santa Cruz de Mora es un centro poblado, rodeado de haciendas y fincas, cuya arquitectura evoca su tradición cafetalera del siglo XIX. Como todo pueblo, su punto central es la Plaza Bolívar, en honor al padre de la patria, donde hacen vida los lugareños.

La iglesia Nuestra Señora del Carmen goza de la fama de tener la torre más alta de las iglesias de Mérida. En su construcción destaca una arquitectura barroca y gótica.

Mientras el Puente del Libertador data del año 1822, cuando Bolívar andaba por el Cauca, en la Nueva Granada.







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### BAILADORES

El pueblo de Bailadores se localiza en la zona andina de Mérida, en un hermoso valle, en la cuenca alta del río Mocoties, cuyo nombre deriva de la forma como los indígenas movían sus cuerpos antes de iniciar el combate. Esta tierra simboliza el espíritu de Libertad que ha caracterizado a sus habitantes.

El 19 de mayo de 1813 llegó a Bailadores, en el marco de la Campaña Admirable, el Brigadier Simón Bolívar, acompañado de un grupo de hombres que formaba el ejército patriota, entre ellos Rafael Urdaneta. A su arribo, el pueblo le brindó apoyo moral y le aclamó por vez primera como Libertador.

Fue Bailadores el primogénito en Venezuela que puso en Libertad a varios esclavos durante la Rebelión de los Comuneros en 1781; también se le conoce como el primer pueblo que abrazó el ideal independentista en Octubre de 1810 gesto que convirtió a Bailadores en uno de los siete Cantones que integraron la Provincia de Mérida, una vez constituida la República en 1830.

#### BAILADORES DESCRIPCIÓN Y SITUACIÓN DE BAILADORES PARA 1813

La mejor descripción del Bailadores de comienzos del siglo XVIII la encontramos en la edición de la Gaceta de Caracas del 23 de agosto de 1820: "El pueblo de Bailadores, situado en una Hoyada y







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### CASCADA DE LA INDIA CARÚ

Cuenta la historia que "se acercaba el día memorable en la vida de la princesa Carú, hija del cacique Toquisay, jefe de los indios Bailadores, quien contraería nupcias con el hijo del cacique Mocottes. Todo el mundo indígena se preparaba para la esperada fiesta de la boda de la princesa. De pronto..."

...Al tercer día, desesperada por el dolor, murió abrazada al cuerpo de su novio. El Dios de la montaña conmovido por esa sobrehumana demostración de amor, recogió en sus manos las lágrimas de la princesa y las derramó por el espacio para que volviera allí abajo donde estaban los suyos. Esas lágrimas se tomaron aguas y dieron vida a la cascada de la princesa Carú..."





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## Cumaná

Leyenda



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### PARQUE AYACUCHO

Ceibas, caobos, guácimos, cauajaros, matapalos, apamates, mangos, cocoteros, guayacanes, palmeras y chaguaramos. Estas especies de árboles te recibirán en el Parque Ayacucho, situado a orillas del río Manzanares, en pleno centro de la ciudad. Es un espacio de 2,1 hectáreas desarrolladas para el disfrute de la ciudadanía.

Antes, tan sólo era una plaza pequeña, pero luego fue ampliada en recuerdo de la histórica Batalla de Ayacucho y la gloriosa actuación de Antonio José de Sucre en ella.



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**PLAZA MIRANDA**

Ven a la capital sucrense y camina por la Plaza Miranda, muy cerca del Teatro Luis Mariano Rivera. Este espacio sirve de punto de encuentro para muchos de los eventos que se celebran en la ciudad, principalmente de carácter educativo. En el lugar se encuentra plantado un Tamarindo ya cuatricentenario.




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### LA IGLESIA SANTA INÉS

Siguiendo los pasos del Gran Mariscal Antonio José de Sucre, la imponente belleza de la Iglesia Santa Inés te cautivará. Es un templo considerado reliquia arquitectónica colonial y tiene como principal atracción los detalles de su fachada, la cúpula y sus vistosos vitrales.

Se construyó sobre las ruinas de la Ermita El Carmen, templo donde fue bautizado el Gran Mariscal de Ayacucho. Esta edificación resultó afectada por los terremotos de 1812 y 1874, y no fue hasta 1929 cuando se logró arreglarla en su totalidad.





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**NOTICIA**

**VENEZUELA Y BOLIVIA FORTALECEN LAZOS EN MATERIA TURÍSTICA**

La Paz, Bolivia, 17 de Julio de 2009

El ministro Pedro Morejón participó junto al Jefe de Estado venezolano en los actos protocolares programados en la ciudad de La Paz, la oportunidad fue propicia para estrechar los lazos técnicos y políticos, con la finalidad de adelantar acciones en el plano institucional bilateral.



[ver mas](#)

**PRESIDENTE CHÁVEZ ASISTIÓ AL DESFILE PARA CONMEMORAR INDEPENDENCIA DE BOLIVIA**

La Paz, Bolivia, 17 de Julio de 2009

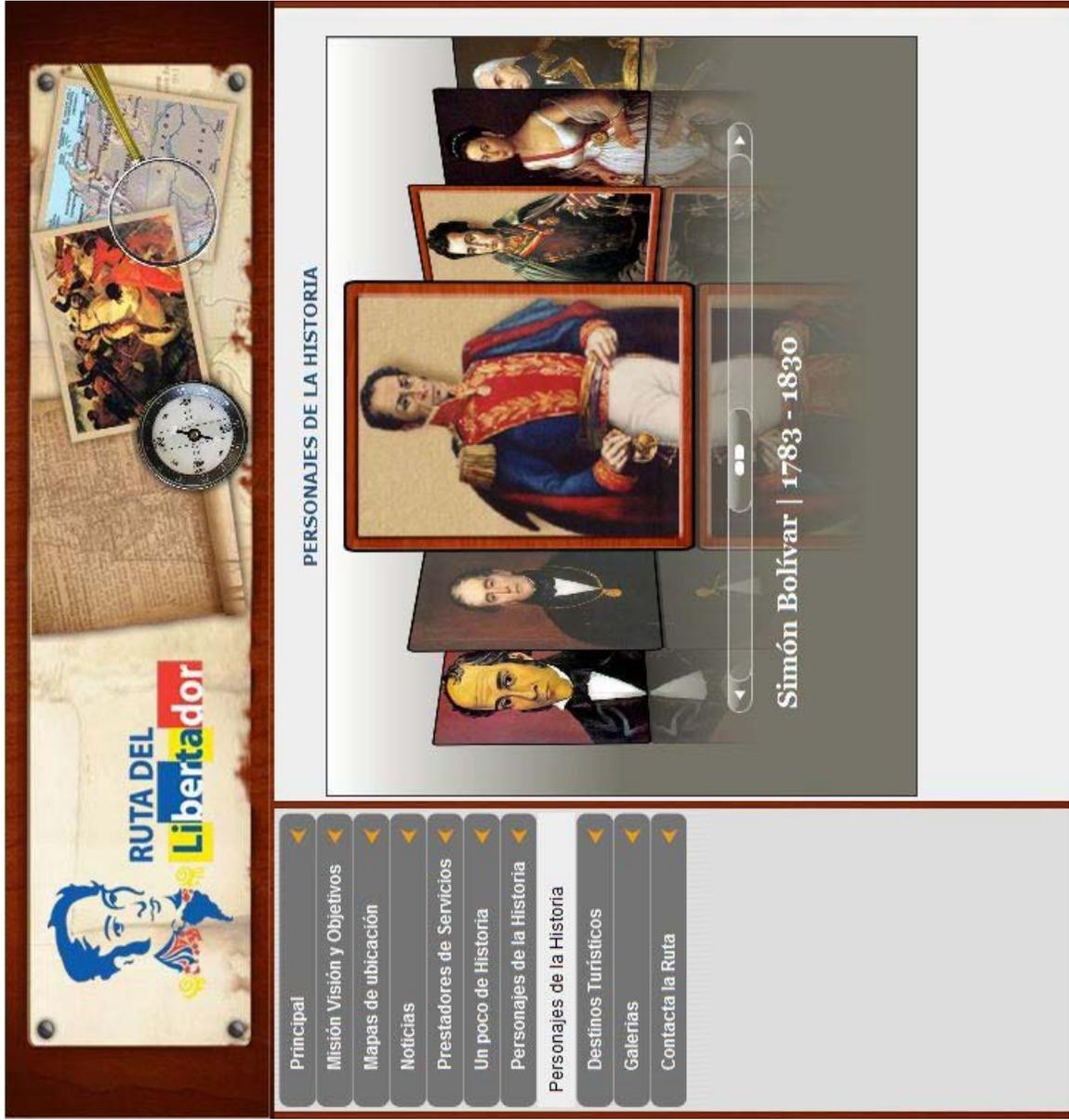
El presidente Chávez asistió al acto cívico militar acompañado del Gabinete Ejecutivo, encabezado por los ministros del Poder Popular para el Turismo, Pedro Morejón; para las Relaciones Exteriores, Nicolás Maduro; y Energía y Petróleo, Rafael Ramírez.



[ver mas](#)

**TITULARES**

- Venezuela y Bolivia fortalecen lazos en materia turística
- Presidente Chávez asistió al desfile para conmemorar independencia de Bolivia
- Fam trip ecuatoriano arroja resultados palpables



## Appendix B

Selected pages from the *Ruta Libertadora* website (Ruta 2a)

The screenshot displays the website interface for 'Ruta Libertadora'. At the top left, there is a header with 'TURISMO CULTURAL COLOMBIA' and the logo of the 'Ministerio de Cultura República de Colombia'. Below this is a horizontal navigation bar with five categories: 'TURISMO CULTURAL', 'DESTINOS CULTURALES', 'CONÓZCANOS', 'PROYECTOS', and 'CONTACTO'. A vertical sidebar on the left contains links for 'Rutas del Bicentenario', 'Vías y Caminos Históricos', and 'Publicaciones'. The main content area features a large graphic of the Colombian flag with the text 'Ruta Libertadora' written in a cursive font. Below the graphic is a text block describing the route as a cultural tourism experience supported by various government entities. At the bottom, there are two event announcements: 'La Ruta' (July 2010) and 'Evento por los Caminos de la Ruta Libertadora' (July 2010).

**TURISMO CULTURAL COLOMBIA**

Ministerio de Cultura  
República de Colombia

TURISMO CULTURAL DESTINOS CULTURALES CONÓZCANOS PROYECTOS CONTACTO

Usted está aquí: [Destinos Culturales](#) > [RUTAS DEL BICENTENARIO](#) > Ruta Libertadora

**Ruta Libertadora**  
1819

**Rutas del Bicentenario**  
**Vías y Caminos Históricos**  
**Publicaciones**

**Ruta Libertadora**

La Ruta Libertadora es un recorrido de turismo cultural que se sigue fortaleciendo, gracias al trabajo conjunto desarrollado por el Ministerio de Cultura, el Ministerio de Comercio, Industria y Turismo, a través de su Viceministerio de Turismo, así como otras instituciones dentro de las cuales se pueden mencionar: la Unidad Administrativa Especial del Sistema de Parques Nacionales Naturales, la Alta Consejería Presidencial para el Bicentenario, el Ejército Nacional, la Policía Nacional, las gobernaciones y alcaldías de los departamentos de Boyacá, Arauca y Casanare. Es importante también señalar, la participación de las alcaldías de Cundinamarca y Bogotá D.C., empresas y agencias de viajes.

**La Ruta**  
[2010-07-30]

**Evento por los Caminos de la Ruta Libertadora**  
[2010-07-30]

Por los caminos de la Ruta Libertadora una historia con futuro, fue un evento realizado durante 19 días del 20 de julio hasta el 7 de agosto de 2009. [1]

**OTI**  
**Ayuntamiento de Olaya**  
**CE**  
**CUNDINAMARCA**  
**República de Colombia**  
**SECRETARÍA DE CULTURA**

http://www.mincultura.gov.co/?idcategoria=38043

Rutas del Bicentenario - Ministeri...

Inicio  Buscar



Liberty and Order  
**Ministerio de Cultura**  
República de Colombia



**TURISMO CULTURAL** **DESTINOS CULTURALES** **CONOZCANOS** **PROYECTOS** **CONTACTO**

Usted está aquí: [Destinos Culturales](#) > [RUTAS DEL BICENTENARIO](#)

## Rutas del Bicentenario



[El Anfitrión Insiste](#)

02 de julio de 2010

El Ministerio de Cultura viene trabajando en el desarrollo del proyecto de Rutas de Turismo Cultural de la mano del Ministerio de Comercio Interior y Turismo. Con motivo del Bicentenario se vienen adelantando las Rutas de las Independencias, cuatro recorridos relacionados cronológicamente y geográficamente con cuatro momentos fundamentales del proceso de Independencia, comenzando por la Ruta de Comuneros de 1781, la Ruta Mutis de 1783, la Ruta Libertadora de 1819 y la Ruta de la Gran Convención de 1828.

**Rutas del Bicentenario**  
**Vías y Caminos Históricos**  
**Publicaciones**



*Por los caminos de la*  
**Ruta Libertadora**  
 U N A H I S T O R I A C O N F U T U R O

*Por los caminos de la*  
**Ruta Libertadora**  
 U N A H I S T O R I A C O N F U T U R O



**Programación**  
 Julio 20 a Agosto 7 de 2009



# Pore

## Tramo 1 Pore/Tablón de Támara

### Domingo, Julio 19/09

**3pm** Bienvenida a los participantes de la Ruta Libertadora y desfile por las principales calles, con la participación de entidades municipales.

**4pm** Cóctel de bienvenida.

**5pm** Recorrido Histórico.

**6pm** Acto cultural - exhibición de coque.

Gran Concierto Nacional.

- Himnos: Colombia, Casanare y Pore.
- Intervención musical de:

William Albarracón Pastrana, Famey Gutiérrez Cuevas, Nodier Durán "La Pluma de Oro", Weller Silva Gutiérrez, Miguel Ángel Inocencio Lizarzo, Parmenio Rincón Rico, Johnny Ofraí Tuay Godoy, Banda Rítmica municipal.

### Lunes, Julio 20/09

**10am** Desfile por las principales calles del municipio con llegada al parque principal.

**11am** Actos Protocolarios:

- Tedeum, por parte del obispo o párroco del municipio.

### Lunes, Julio 20/09

**4pm** Llegada y recibimiento a los participantes de la Ruta Libertadora; traslado al Colegio Tablón de Támara.

Actos Protocolarios:

Himno Nacional y de Casanare.

Resena histórica por parte de las directivas del internado.

**6pm** Actos culturales:

- Intervención musical de:

Juventud Llano y Folióne.

• Grupo de Danza Folclórica - Colegio Técnico la Presentación.

- Literatura, Javier Avila.

### Martes, Julio 21/09

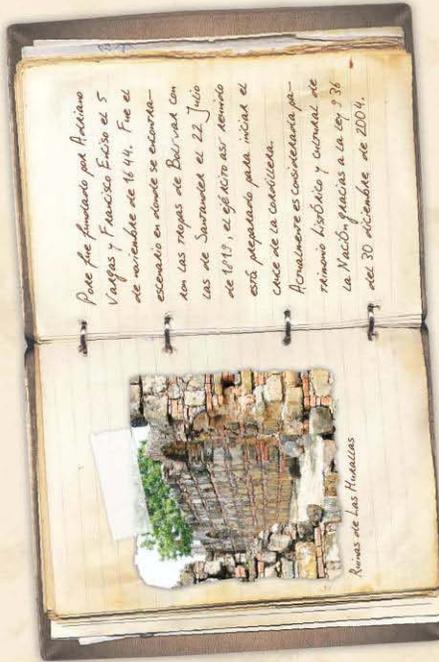
**9am** Salida a Nunchia.



Iglesia Tablón de Támara



Por este sector pasaron las tropas del libertador rumbo a Nunchia.



Remans de las Huacallas

# Tablón de Támara

## Tramo 2 Tablón/Nunchia

# Nunchía

## Tramo 3 Nunchía/Morcote

### Martes, Julio 21/09

Recibimiento a los participantes de la Ruta Libertadora y desfile por las principales calles, con la participación de entidades municipales.

1pm

Actos protocolarios:

- Himnos e izada de pabellones de Colombia, Casanare y Nunchía.

Actos culturales:

- Música: Carlos Arturo Cachay, Nancy Guavara, Pedro Palencia, Grupo Arpeggio Musical Infantil.
- Presentación pareja de baile.

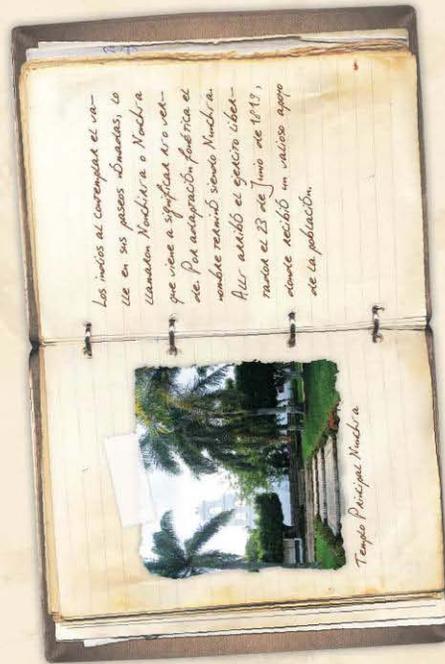
### Miércoles Julio 22/09

Salida a Morcote.

9am



Nunchía



Los indios al contemplar el valle en sus posesiones, lo llamaban Nunchía o Nuchía que viene a significar río velado. Por esta razón, fue rica el nombre recibiendo Nuchía. Allí, asistió el general iberoamericano el 23 de junio de 1815, donde recibió un valioso apoyo de la población.

Templo Principal Nunchía

6

7

El 25 de junio llega la vanguardia a esta población, desembarca el resto del ejército hacia el día 27. Allí recibimos apoyo en armas y hombres.



Templo de Morcote

### Miércoles, Julio 22/09

Recibimiento a los participantes de la Ruta Libertadora y desfile por las principales calles, con la participación de entidades municipales de Paya.

2pm

Actos protocolarios y Culturales.

3pm

### Jueves, Julio 23/09

Salida a Paya.

9am



Habitamos en la Palacota

# Morcote

## Tramo 4 Morcote/Paya

# Pueblo Viejo

## Tramo 7 Pueblo Viejo/Quebradas

### Domingo, Julio 26/09

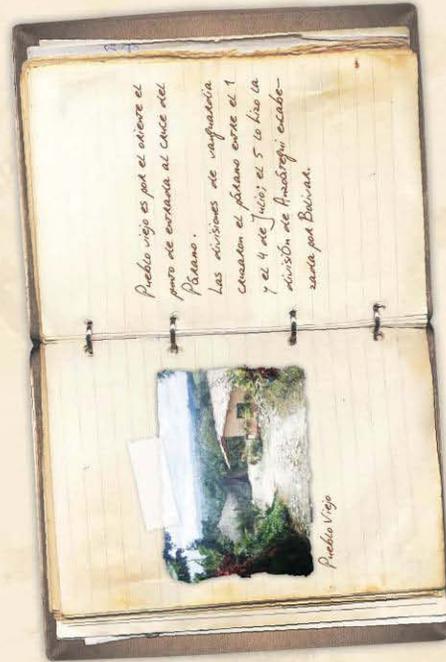
- 11am** Paso por el Paramo de Pisba.
- 12m** Ofrenda floral en el Pozo del soldado.
- 1pm** Paso por la Cerranía de Peña Negra.
- 2pm** Llegada a Pueblo Viejo.

### Lunes, Julio 27/09

- 7am** Salida a Quebradas.



*Paso del serrano*



*Pueblo Viejo*

*Barva y sus serranos acamparon en la vereda de Quebradas, después de cruzar el infeliz paramo de Pisba, uno de los serranos se acaban, pero también se valetó y esto lo de los parientes que quedaron parte en la familiaridad campara.*



*Quebradas*

### Lunes, Julio 27/09

- 4pm** Recibimiento a los participantes de la Ruta Libertadora.
- 5pm** Actos protocolarios

Recorrido por los lugares históricos.

Actos culturales (en Socha):

- Danza: Grupo el Olicon - Colegio Técnico Francisco José de Caldas, Danzas Grupo Libertador Colegio Simón Bolívar de Comeza.
- Música: Grupo Musical Gameza, Grupo Musical Los Orientales, Grupo Musical Carbon Carranero, Grupo Musical Ecologicos del Paramo, Grupo Musical Los Arroyanos de Comeza, Grupo Musical Los Prayones de Boyaca, Coplas costumbristas: Pedro Velandía, Coplas colombianas: Carlos Pérez, Coplas costumbristas: Edison Torres.

- Teatro: Artistas Luis Porras, Saulo Panquera y Julio Goyeneche.

### Martes, Julio 28/09

- 9am** Salida a Socha.



*Vista panorámica de Socha*



*Vista parcial de Socha*

# Quebradas

## Tramo 8 Quebradas/Socha

# Socha

## Tramo 9 Socha/Tasco

### Martes, Julio 28/09

**1pm** Recibimiento a los participantes de Ruta Libertadora, desfile de estudiantes y habitantes de la población, acompañados por bandas heráldicas.

### 3pm

Actos protocolarios

Actos culturales:

- Música: Banda Sinfónica Infantil.
- Danza: Grupo de Danzas Sol y Luna.
- Grupo de Teatro Los Boches.

### Miércoles, Julio 29/09

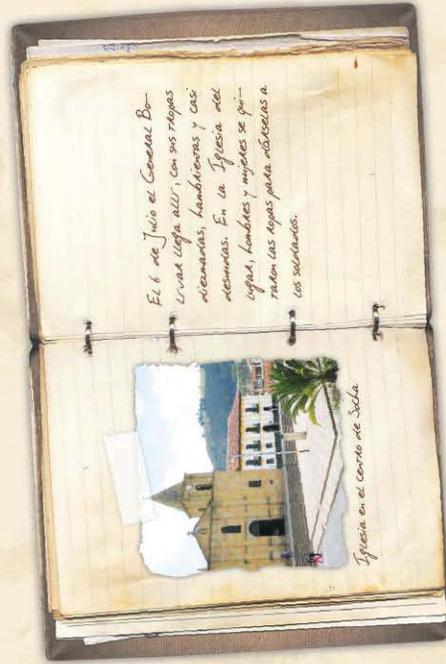
Descanso

### Jueves, Julio 30/09

**8am** Salida a Tasco.



*Laguna de Socha*



*El 6 de Julio el General Borrera llega allí, con sus tropas ricanasas, hambrovas y casisunasas. En la Iglesia del lugar, hombres y mujeres se juntan las manos para abrazarse a los soldados.*

*Iglesia en el centro de Socha*

*El 8 y 9 de julio de 1819, el general Libertador está en tierras de Tasco, resguardando el cruce del camino del Pacífico. Allí Borrera recibe 500 caballos del general José Antonio Velez.*



*Parque principal*

### Jueves, Julio 30/09

**3pm** Recibimiento a los participantes de la Ruta Libertadora y desfile por las principales calles, con la participación de entidades municipales.

### 4pm

Actos protocolarios.

Actos culturales:

- Música: Los Chocantes Parranderos, Copias del magisterio del Municipio de Tasco, Grupo de música Tradicional Dos Generaciones.
- Danza: Muestra de Danza folclórica Institución Educativa Jorge Guillermo Mojica Márquez.
- Muestra artesanal y gastronómica.

### Viernes, Julio 31/09

### 8am

Salida Ruta A: Tasco/Beteliva/Tutasá (caballizas).

### 9am

Salida Ruta B: Tasco/Puente Reyes/Corrales (camionantes). Acompañamiento hasta el sitio Aposentos de Tasco (primer hospital de la Ruta Libertadora).



*Tumba del General Arce*

# Tasco

## Tramo 10A Tasco/Beteliva/Tutasá Tramo 10B Tasco/Puente Reyes/Corrales

# Betéitiva

Tramo 10A

15

## Viernes, Julio 31/09

Recibimiento a los participantes de Ruta Libertadora, por parte de la banda del colegio Santa Rita de Casia, comunidad en general, y personal de la estación de policía.

Actos protocolarios:

- Himno nacional, Himno a Betéitiva, Himno de la policía e Himno de Boyacá.

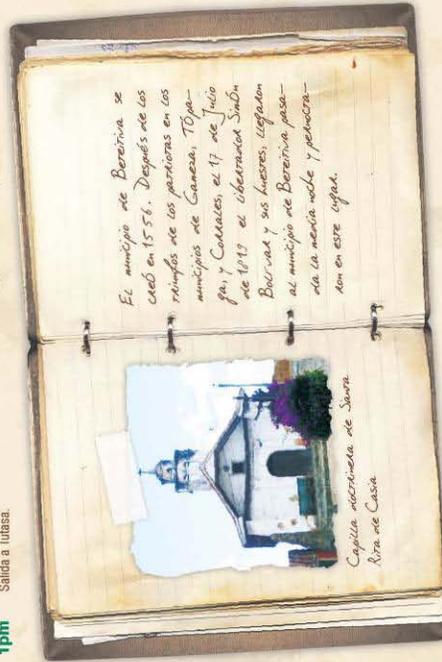
Actos culturales:

- Música: Grupo Tradicional Impacto Popular, Banda Santa Rita de Casia.
- Danza: Grupo de Danzas Institución Educativa Nuestra Señora de la O de Otenga.
- Obra de teatro Médico a Palos.

1pm Salida a Tutasá.



Cascada de Ayque



El municipio de Beréiva se creó en 1558. Después de los triunfos de los patriotas en los municipios de Gámeza, Tópaga, y Cúcuta, el 17 de Julio de 1819 el libertador Simón Bolívar y sus fuerzas, llegaron al municipio de Beréiva para dar la noticia noble y perenne a los habitantes de este lugar.

Capilla dedicada a Santa Rita de Casia



Parque principal

## Viernes, Julio 31/09

Recibimiento a los participantes a la ruta libertadora y desfile por las principales calles, con la participación de entidades municipales.

4pm

Actos protocolarios y entrega de insignias representativas del Municipio.

5pm

Actos culturales:

- Música: Banda de Vientos Juvenil Municipal.
- Grupo juvenil de danza del Colegio Técnico Agropecuario Pio Morantes.
- Teatro: Colegio municipal La Libertad.
- Literatura: Colegios Pio Morantes y La Libertad.

6pm

## Viernes, Agosto 1/09

8am Salida a Belén



Casa de la Cultura

# Tutasá

Tramo 11A

Tutasá/Belén/Cerínza/Santa Rosa

14

# Puente Reyes (Gámeza) Tramo 10B

## Viernes, Julio 31/09

Recibimiento de los participantes de la Ruta Litteraria por las autoridades municipales.

12m

Actos protocolarios.

Salida a Corrales.

1pm

En Gámeza:

2pm

Actos protocolarios en el parque principal.

Paseo por los lugares históricos del municipio (la piedra de Bolívar).

Muestra artística, gastronómica y artesanal (mercado campesino).

Danzas folclóricas del municipio.



Piedra de Bolívar



El 10 de Julio de 1919 hubo un enfrentamiento entre los ejércitos Español y Parviano a la entrada del puente de Gámeza, saliendo victorioso el Ejército Libertador. Al día siguiente sucede el conocido enfrentamiento en el que Reyes Parvian vence a un soldado español, hecho por el cual el puente tomó su nombre.

Homenaje al puente

16

17

Entre el 6 y el 10 de Julio de 1919 se sucedieron 3 combates en la población de Corrales, planeados estratégicamente por el General Sarante, quien usó la orden de que en Corrales se estableciera un sitio de observación para que el Ejército Libertador pudiera avanzar con seguridad después de haberlo atacado.



Piedra e Iglesia principal

## Viernes, Julio 31/09

Recibimiento de los participantes de la Ruta Litteraria y recorrido por la población con las autoridades municipales.

3pm

Actos protocolarios

4pm

Representación batalla de la Chivatera en corrales.

Actos culturales:

- Música: Banda Sinfónica Infantil Municipal.
- Grupos de Danzas del Municipio (semillero, infantil y adulto) .
- Literatura: Oratoria sobre la Batalla de la Chivatera y la Muerte de Juana Escobar.

6pm

## Sábado, Agosto 1/09

Salida a Busbanzá.

8am



Río Chicamocha

Tramo 11B  
Corrales/Busbanzá/  
Floresta/Tobasía/Santa Rosa

# Corrales

# Belén

Tramo 11A

## Sábado, Agosto 1/09

**9:30am** Recibimiento de los participantes de la Ruta Libertadora y recorrido histórico.

Actos protocolarios.

Entrega de insignias.

Actos culturales:

- Música: Muestra Musical Escuela Municipal de Belén, Grupo Artes Son Carranga, Grupo Tierra Buena.
- Teatro: Col Nacionalizado Susana Guillemin.
- Literatura: Niños Complemento I.E. San Jose de la Montaña Sede Tuale Bajo.

**10:30am** Salida a Cerinza.



Iglesia Nuestra Señora de Belén



Habitantes del Municipio

Barinas llegó a Belén el 16 de Julio de 1819, pasó en la casa de Juan José López, fue en este sitio donde Barinas pasó a un niño de 12 años el cuidado de sus caballos, su nombre era Pedro Pascasio Martínez, quien pasó a la historia por no haberse dejado subyugar y hacer prisionero al Caballero Barinés luego de la Batalla de Boyacá.

19



Vista panorámica del Municipio

Cerinza fue fundado en el año de 1554. Durante la Campaña Libertadora Simón Bolívar y el general Páez fueron pencazonos en este lugar, los líderes de Cerinza fueron: Pedro Infante, Genaro Divieso y Adriano Rábun.

## Sábado, Agosto 1/09

Recibimiento de los participantes de la Ruta Libertadora y recorrido histórico.

Inicio vereda Portachuelo hasta parque principal.

Actos protocolarios.

Entrega de insignias representativas.

Actos culturales:

- Música: Escuela de Música "Maestro Enrique Cárdenas".
- Danzas Folclóricas Grupo Infantil Traga Raspos, Grupo Juvenil de Danzas Institución Educativa Cerinza.
- Literatura: Declamador Luis Ernesto Pinto Tamayo.

**2pm**

Salida a Santa Rosa de Viterbo, donde se encuentran los dos recorridos.



Iglesia de Cerinza

# Cerinza

Tramo 11A

18

# Busbanzá

Tramo 11B

## Sábado, Agosto 1/09

**8:50am** Recibimiento de los participantes de la Ruta Libertadora.

Acompañamiento: entrada (silo las Pailitas) y salida (Silo la Puerta).

Actos protocolarios:

- Himnos de Colombia y Boyacá.

Entrega de insignias.

Bendición por parte del párroco local.

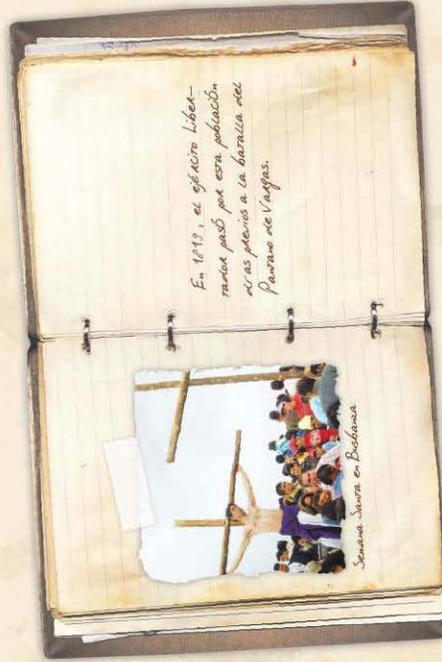
Actos culturales:

- Danza: Compañía Municipal de Danza Infantil y Juvenil.

**9:50am** Salida a Floresta.



Virgen Juana Luján



20

21



Aparición Camino

Cuando los habitantes pasaban en el nombre que daban a la vía a pastoreo, don Hernán el Ignacio de la Reyes coincidió como el fundador del nuevo municipio en 1919, entre las Flores Floresta, y por eso que se llama La Floresta. Todos acordaron la idea a tiempo que la festejaban con un soneto pido "Viva La Floresta". Con el tiempo el astrólogo florentino desapareció del nombre oficial, por simple error se conoce como Floresta.

## Sábado, Agosto 1/09

**11:20am** Recibimiento de los participantes de la Ruta Libertadora.

Entrega de recordatorios.

Actos culturales:

- Música: Orquesta Sinfónica del Municipio de Floresta, Tío los Llanos, Estudiantes Básica Media Institución Héctor Julio Rangel Quintero, Dueto María de la O Morales y María Lucía Morales.
- Danza: Ursula Martínez y Pedro Antonio Barrantes, Institución Educativa Héctor Julio Rangel Quintero.
- Artes Visuales: Exposición en el Museo de Historia Natural de Floresta y Escuela de Formación de Pintura.

**12:20m**

Salida a Tobasía y de allí a Santa Rosa de Viterbo, donde se encuentran los doce recorridos.



Plaza y Templo

# Floresta

Tramo 11B

# Santa Rosa

## Tramo 12 Santa Rosa/Duitama/Pantano de Vargas/ Casona del Salitre

### Sábado, Agosto 1/09

Recepción a los participantes de Ruta Libertadora, y desfile por las principales calles, con la participación de entidades municipales, iniciando en la Vereda el portachuelo hasta el parque principal.

Música del compositor santarrosense Carlos González Camero, Conjunto Hermanos Chimera.

Teatro: Jairo Mendiveño.

- Grupo de Danzas Instituto Integrado Carlos Arturo Torres Peña.

Actos protocolarios:

- Himno Nacional en el parque principal.
- Invocación por parte del Párroco local.

- Palabras de bienvenida por parte de las autoridades Municipales, Entrega de insignias.

Actos culturales:

- Música: Deiner Fernando Martínez, Duetto Primavera, Orquesta de la Escuela de Policía Rafael Reyes de Santa Rosa de Viterbo, Estreno de la canción "Camino a la libertad" letra y

Artes Visuales: Lanzamiento del concurso nacional de pintura al óleo "Santa Rosa de Viterbo y el caballo Palomo en el Bicentenario de las independencias.

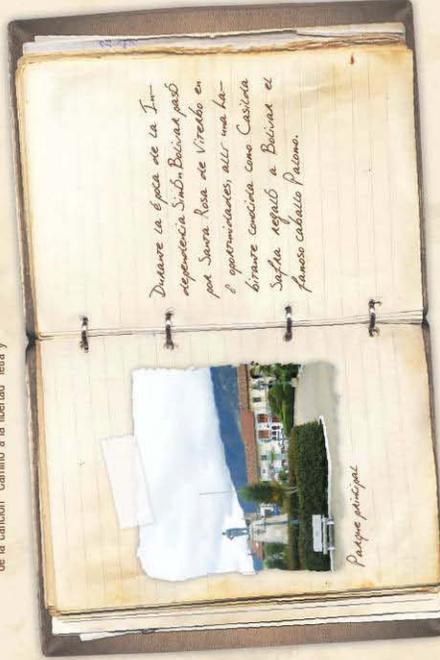
### Domingo, Agosto 2/09

Descanso.

### Lunes, Agosto 3/09

Salida a Duitama.

### 7:30



22

23



*El día 26 de junio de 1913, bajo la dirección de don Juan de Dios Buitrago, se fundó en este Pueblo el Libertador Suroccidental, en su día se Campaña Libertadora. el Libertador ubicado en la casa del señor don Cayetano Gaitán.*

### Lunes, Agosto 3/09

Recepción de los participantes de la Ruta Libertadora por parte de las autoridades municipales y la comunidad.

### 9am

Actos protocolarios:

Actividades Culturales:

- Música: Banda Sinfónica Municipal, Quinteto de Clarinetas de Duitama, Duetto Hoja de Roble.
- Danza: Grupo Sabiduría Popular, Ensamble de Danzas Proyección "Programa Transformando Vídeos", Ensamble de Proyección Infantil, Ensamble de Proyección Juvenil, Sabiduría Popular.

11am Salida al Pantano de Vargas.



# Duitama

Tramo 12

# Pantano de Vargas

Tramo 12

## Lunes, Agosto 3/09

**1:30pm** Recibimiento de los participantes de la Ruta Libertadora por parte de las autoridades municipales de Paipa y la comunidad.

**2pm** Actividad cultural representativa de la batalla del Pantano de Vargas.

**3:30pm** Salida a la Casona del Salitre (Paipa).



*Pantano de Vargas*

*En este lugar se llevó a cabo una de las batallas más importantes de la campaña libertadora. Allí el Ejército Patriota logró vencer a las tropas realistas, durante la batalla se destacó el héroe atrevido del Coronel Romón y los 14 Lanceros.*



*Heroico Pantano de Vargas*

25

*Durante la campaña de 1819 la casa sirvió como cuartel general después de la batalla del Pantano de Vargas, allí el libertador Simón Bolívar permaneció allí con su Ejército, escarificándose entre ellos el coronel británico Jaime Rold, héroe del Pantano de Vargas.*



*Visión Panorámica de Paipa*

## Lunes, Agosto 3/09

**4:30pm** Recibimiento de los participantes de la Ruta Libertadora por parte de las autoridades municipales de Paipa y la comunidad.

Actividades Culturales:

- Música: Escuela de Formación Artística de Paipa-Estudantina, Banda Sinfónica Juvenil de Paipa.
- Danza: Ballet Folclórico Juvenil de Paipa.
- Artes Visuales: Exposición de Artes y Antigüedades Casa de Vargas, Arturo Carrillo, Exposición de Antigüedades, Exposición de Antigüedades.

## Martes, Agosto 4/09

**9am** Salida a Toca



*Casona del Salitre*

# Casona del Salitre

Tramo 13  
Casona/Toca

24

# Tunja

## Tramo 15 Tunja/Puente de Boyacá

### Miércoles, Agosto 5/09

3:30pm Gran recibimiento a los participantes de Ruta Libertadora, y desfile por las principales calles, con la participación de entidades municipales, con homenaje en la Plaza de Bolívar.

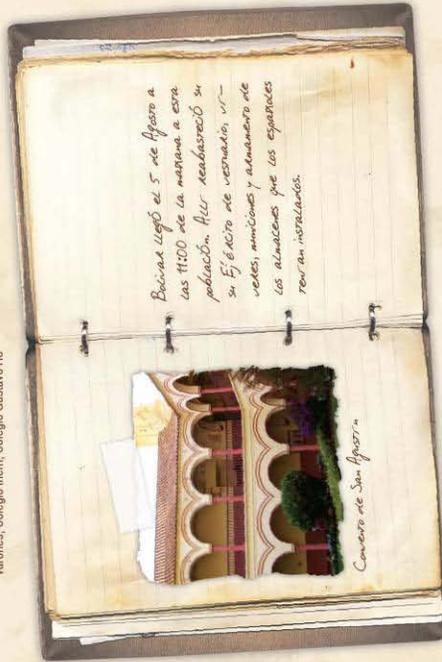
Presentación de la autoridades civiles, eclesiástica y militares.

Actos protocolarios:

- Izada del pabellón y entonación de himnos.
- Palabras de bienvenida

Actos Culturales:

- Banda Sinfónica Infantil y Juvenil del Municipio, Orquesta Infantil Batuta, Agrupación Policial Otrora, Bandas Marciales de los Colegios Leonor Alvarez Pinzon, Normal de varones, Colegio Inem, Colegio Gustavo Ro-



28

29



El puente fue el epicentro de los combates, al ser tomado tácticamente y atravesado por el general Francisco de Paula Santander y su Ejército, en la época contra las tropas realistas comandadas por el general Francisco Jiménez, allí se definió el triunfo patriota como resultado de la independencia de la Nueva Granada.

### Viernes, Agosto 7/09

12m Recibimiento de los participantes en Puente de Boyacá.

Commemoración de los 190 años de la batalla del Puente de Boyacá.

Día del Ejército.



# Puente de Boyacá







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**Video**

16 de abril de 2010

Por los caminos de la Ruta Libertadora Una historia con futuro, fue un evento evocativo de la Ruta Libertadora a través de un recorrido histórico de 19 días, desde el 20 de julio hasta el 7 de agosto de 2009, contando con el apoyo y acompañamiento de la Presidencia de la República, Ministerio de Cultura, Ministerio de Defensa, Ejército Nacional, Policía y Vigías del Patrimonio por las poblaciones de Poré, Tablón de Tamara, Nunchía, Morcote, Paya, Pisba, Quebradas, Socotá, Socha, Tasco, Beteliva, Tutasá, Gámeza, Corrales, Belén, Cerinza, Busbanzá, Floresta, Santa Rosa de Viterbo, Duitama, Paipa, Toca, Chivalá, Tunja y Puente de Boyacá de los departamentos de Arauca, Casanare y Boyacá. Este es el primero de una serie de pasos que buscan el progreso económico – social y el desarrollo comercial y turístico en aquellas poblaciones de la ruta dando visibilidad a cada uno de los municipios del recorrido y desarrollando acciones dinamizadoras en estas provincias.



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## **Appendix D**

Content Analysis Data from the *Ruta del Libertador* and *Ruta Libertadora* websites

Content Analysis of the *Ruta del Libertador* website for Ecuador

	Location	Significance	Was Bolivar there?	Was there a battle?	Related to the Liberation?	"Discovered" or "Created"	Populist, Entrepreneurial, Essentialist, Privatist
1	Ibarra	Theme: "Bolivar, The Revolutionary" - This is the only place where Bolivar would directly participate in a battle on Ecuadorian soil, with several interesting cultural and natural sites for tourists to visit. Theme: "Bolivar, The Passionate" - This is where Bolivar celebrated recent victories, and met Manuela Saenz, who became his lover and sometimes companion, known as "Libertadora del Libertador."	Yes	Yes	Yes	D	Po, Es
2	Quito	Theme: "Bolivar, The Poet" - While here, Bolivar would write a poem "Mi dileo sobre el Chimborazo."	Yes	No	Somewhat	D	Po, En,
3	Riobamba	Theme: "Bolivar, The Strategist" - Bolivar twice stayed at the fort here, where he made strategic decisions about the revolution.	Yes	No	No	C	Po, En
4	Guaranda	Theme: "Bolivar, The Friend" - While staying here, Bolivar befriended many of the families who helped him and his troops while they rested.	Yes	No	Yes	D	En
5	Babahoyo	Theme: "Bolivar, The Politician" - Bolivar met with the other liberator, Argentine General José Francisco de San Martín to discuss how to combine their efforts for liberation.	Yes	No	Yes	D	En
6	Guayaquil	Theme: "Bolivar, The Environmentalist" - Bolivar was said to enjoy the natural landscapes of this area, which inspired some of his writing.	Yes	No	Not directly	C	Po,
7	Cuenca	Theme: "Bolivar, The Humanist" - While passing through, Bolivar was said to have written laws related to education.	Yes	No	Not directly	C	Po,
8	Loja		Yes	No	Not directly	C	Po
		<b>Ecuador Totals</b>	<b>8 - Yes</b>	<b>1 - Yes, 7 - No</b>	<b>4 - Yes, 4 - Not yes</b>	<b>5 - D, 3 - C</b>	<b>6 - Po, 5 - En, 2 - Es, 0 - Pr</b>

Content Analysis of the *Ruta del Libertador* website for Venezuela

	Location	Significance	Was Bolívar there?	Was there a battle?	Related to the Liberation?	"Discovered" or "Created"	Populist, Entrepreneurial, Essentialist, Privatist
9	Mérida	Where Bolívar was given the title of "El Libertador," in 1813.	Yes	No	Yes	D	Po,
10	Mérida: La Laguna de Urao	A unique place for tourists because of its natural and cultural resources	No	No	No	C	En
11	Mérida: La Victoria	An interesting place for tourists because of its coffee production	No	No	No	C	Pr
12	Mérida: Santa Cruz de Mora	Its main plaza is named after Bolívar. Bolívar and his army crossed a bridge near here.	No	No	No	C	Po, En
13	Mérida: Tovar	Its main plaza is named after Bolívar, and the city has a number of natural and cultural attractions.	No	No	No	C	En, Pr
14	Mérida: Bailadores	Bolívar passed through here to recruit army volunteers.	Yes	No	Yes	D	Po
15	Mérida: Cascada de la India Carú	A waterfall that was significant to indigenous leaders before the Spanish arrived.	No	No	No	C	En, Pr
16	Cumaná: Museo Gran Mariscal de Ayacucho	Museum dedicated to José Antonio de Sucre, Bolívar's favored Gran Marshall, who was born in Cumaná in 1795.	No	No	Not directly	C	Po, Pr
17	Cumaná: Parque Ayacucho	Small park with a statue of José Antonio de Sucre, who led the Battle of Ayacucho in Peru.	No	No	Not directly	C	Po, Pr
18	Cumaná: Plaza Miranda	Plaza named after Francisco de Miranda, who led the liberation movement before Bolívar.	No	No	Not directly	C	Po, Pr
19	Cumaná: Callejon El Alarcran	A street that has well-preserved colonial architecture.	No	No	No	C	Po, En
20	Cumaná: Iglesia Santa Inés	A prominent church in Cumaná	No	No	No	C	Po
21	Cumaná: Casa del Poeta Ramos Sucre	Home of a relative of José Antonio de Sucre, who was a poet. The home now a museum and cultural-activity center.	No	No	No	C	Po, En, Pr
22	Cumaná: Convento de San Francisco	Ruins of an important convent that was partially destroyed in historic earthquakes.	No	No	No	C	Po,
<b>Venezuela Totals</b>			<b>2 - Yes, 12 - No</b>	<b>14 - No</b>	<b>2 - Yes, 12 - Not yes</b>	<b>2 - D, 12 - C</b>	<b>10 - Po, 6 - En, 0 - Es, 7 - Pr</b>
<b>Ruta del Libertador Totals</b>			<b>10 - Yes, 12 - No</b>	<b>1 - Yes, 21 - No</b>	<b>6 - Yes, 16 - Not Yes</b>	<b>7 - D, 15 - C</b>	<b>16 - Po, 11 - En, 2 - Es, 7 - Pr</b>

**Content Analysis of the Ruta Libertadora website for Colombia**

	Location	Significance	Was Bolivar there?	Was there a battle?	Related to the Liberation?	"Discovered" or "Created"	Populist, Entrepreneurial, Essentialist, Privatist
1	Pore	Where Bolivar and Santander converged to join forces against the Spanish in 1819	Yes	No	Yes	D	Po, Es
2	Tablón de Tamara	Bolivar and his troops passed through here on their march to Nunchia.	Yes	No	Somewhat	D	Po, Es
3	Nunchia	The people of this town helped support Bolivar and his army by providing food and supplies.	Yes	No	Yes	D	Po, Es
4	Morcote	In this town Bolivar and his army receive arms and men to strengthen his forces against the Spanish.	Yes	No	Yes	D	Po, Es
5	Paya	Known as "the cradle of liberty" as this was the first town to be liberated in the campaign now known as the "campana libertadora" which is metaphorically referenced in the Colombian national anthem as the "batalla de termópilas" (Battle of Thermopylae).	Yes	Yes	Yes	D	Po, Es
6	Pisba	Where Bolivar and his men rested and psychologically prepared for the long hike over the Andean pass.	Yes	No	Somewhat	D	Po
7	Pueblo Viejo	Camp near the pass where temperatures 2°C (35°F) and many of Bolivar's soldiers died of hunger and cold.	Yes	No	Somewhat	D	Po
8	Quebradas	Where Bolivar and his soldiers camped and rested after crossing the pass.	Yes	No	Somewhat	D	Po
9	Socha	Bolivar and his soldiers arrived "decimated, hungry and almost nude" after crossing the pass. At the local church, residents came and gave their own clothing to the soldiers, some soldiers even dressed in women's clothing in the next battle at the Pantano de Vargas.	Yes	Yes	Yes	D	Po, Es
10	Tasco	Bolivar and his soldiers regroup, receiving 500 horses from José Antonio Valderrama.	Yes	Yes	Yes	D	Po, Es
11	Betétiva	Camp	Maybe	No	No	C	En
12	Gámeza	One of the most challenging battles near the bridge (Puente Reyes) at the Río Gámeza.	Yes	Yes	Yes	D	Po, Es

Content Analysis of the *Ruta Libertadora* website for Colombia (continued)

	Location	Significance	Was Bolivar there?	Was there a battle?	Related to the Liberation?	"Discovered" or "Created"	Populist, Entrepreneurialist, Essentialist, Privatist
13	Tatusá	Bolivar and his soldiers arrive hoping to find supplies, where he is said to have prayed for his soldiers before the Virgen of the Rosary. Here the "lancer" Pío Morantes joined the army, and would soon become a prominent fighter.	Yes	Yes	Yes	D	Po
14	Belén	Bolivar rested in the house of Juan José Leyva where he asked a 12-year old boy Pedro Pascasto Martínez to care for his horse; later he would be considered a hero for not betraying Bolivar to a bribe from the Spanish.	Yes	Yes	Yes	D	Po
15	Corrales	Three intense battles were fought here, between the 6th and 10th of July, with the help of Santander's troops.	Yes	Yes	Yes	D	Po
16	Cemza	Camp	Maybe	No	No	C	En
17	Busbanzá	Passed through	Maybe	No	No	C	En
18	Floresta	No apparent significance other than being an attractive town along the way.	No	No	No	C	En, Pr
19	Santa Rosa	Bolivar passed through this town eight times during the liberation. Resident Casilda Safra gave Bolivar his horse Palomo.	Yes	No	Yes	D	Po, En
20	Duitama	Camp. Bolivar slept in the priest's house.	Yes	No	Yes	D	Po, En
21	Pantano de Vargas	One of the most important battles of the "Campaña Libertadora" where 350 "republican" troops defeated 500 "royalist" troops.	Yes	Yes	Yes	D	Po, Es
22	Casoma de Salitre	This mansion served as Bolivar's headquarters after the battle at the Pantano de Vargas.	Yes	No	Yes	D	Po, Es, En, Pr
23	Toca	From here Bolivar sends a squadron to occupy Tunja.	Yes	Yes	Yes	D	Po
24	Chivatá	Passed through.	Maybe	No	No	C	En
25	Tunja	In Tunja, Bolivar replenishes provisions and munitions, and—by taking control of the strategically-located city—cuts communications of the Spanish forces. The culmination of the campaign that defined the retreat of the Spanish and the Liberation of Nueva Granada. The "bridge" was taken by General Francisco de Paula Santander.	Yes	Yes	Yes	D	Po, Es
26	Puente de Boyacá		Yes	Yes	Yes	D	Po, Es
		<b>Ruta Libertadora Totals</b>	<b>21 - Yes, 5 - Not yes</b>	<b>12 - Yes, 14 - No</b>	<b>19 - Yes, 7 - Not yes</b>	<b>21 - D, 5 - C</b>	<b>21 - Po, 4 - En, 12 - ES, 2 - Pr</b>

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## Vita

Before starting the graduate programs in Latin American Studies and Community & Regional Planning (specializing in Historic Preservation) in 2008, George worked for several years as a preservation carpenter and mason for the National Park Service. He also worked for a couple years as a journalist, often reporting on the condition of cultural resources in the Southwest United States and Northern Mexico. His scope of interest later expanded to Central and South America after a year of independent travel and another two as a tour leader in the region.

In 2009, George conducted field research in Real de Catorce in San Luis Potosí, México. He also spent part of that summer in the state of Zulia, Venezuela working as a research assistant. In 2010, George participated in a semester-long research project in an informal settlement of Santo Domingo, Dominican Republic. He also spent part of the summer 2010 in Quito, Ecuador working as an intern for US/ICOMOS.

While at UT Austin, George presented papers at the University of Tulane Latin American Studies conference, Fall 2009; the University of Texas EPOCH (Engaging the Preservation of Cultural Heritage) conference, Fall 2010; the University of Texas Institute of Latin American Studies Student Association, Spring 2011; and National Council on Public History annual conference, Spring 2011. He also worked as a Teaching Assistant in the Dept. of Mechanical Engineering, the Dept. of Spanish and Portuguese and the Dept. of Chemical Engineering.

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